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The Federal government publication is designed to help child care institutions to desegregate their services. Part of the document discusses the impetus for change, methods of desegregation, and the needed initiatives. Described are such steps as establishment of board policy, the roles of administrators and staff, as well as coordination with community institutions. Informing parents and children of the desegregation policy is also important. The desegregation process and experience are illustrated in reports by six institutions, in various parts of the country, which serve dependent, delinquent, retarded, and disturbed children, and adolescent unwed mothers. (NH)

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QUEST FOR EQUALITY

QUEST FOR EQUALITY

the story of how
six institutions opened
their doors to serve
Negro children
and their families

MARTIN GULA *Specialist on Group Care, Division of Social Services*

UD 007 553

foreword

● Desegregation of a child caring institution is one of the most delicate of human engineering accomplishments confronting our country today.

Desegregating an institution involves the feelings, attitudes, and reactions of the children and their parents, of the institution's staff, and of the people in the community in which the institution is located.

This pamphlet is concerned with the process of achieving desegregation in institutions so that they open their doors to children of any race, color, or nationality. Admittedly, however, the focus is on the Negro child. For him, the barriers to good institutional care have been higher and harder to penetrate.

Once Negro children and Negro staff enter a previously segregated institution, the task begins of helping youngsters, staff, and community to live harmoniously and happily together. When this is finally achieved, children are accepted for what they are—with all their individual qualities and differences.

This story of how six child caring institutions opened their doors to serve Negro children gives ample evidence of the sequence from segregation to desegregation and to the final goal—elimination of discrimination on the basis of race, color, or nationality. One of these institutions moved ahead with its desegregation 2 years after the May 1954 decision of the Supreme Court of the United States that "the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place."

These institutions, located in different sections of the Nation, serve dependent, delinquent, retarded, and disturbed children, and adolescent unmarried mothers. The institutions faced problems in the community—from the churches, schools, neighbors—as well as within their own board, administration, and staff. Progress sometimes was slow, sometimes painful, but obstacles were overcome until each institution successfully established services for children without restrictions based on race, color, or nationality.

The Children's Bureau is grateful to the six administrators who described in full and candid fashion their transitional steps to desegregation. These descriptions are in the exact words of the administrators, beginning on page 25.

Two of these administrators described their "process" to an informal, all-day conference of representatives of national organizations, called by the Children's Bureau in April 1964.

Participants in the conference included:

Board of Hospitals and Homes of the Methodist Church

Miss LENA MARTIN

Child Welfare League of America

Mr. SAMUEL BERMAN

Children's Bureau, Welfare Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Mr. RAY MANELLA Mr. MARTIN GULA

Lutheran Church in America

Pastor CARL THOMAS

National Conference of Catholic Charities

Mr. JOHN HAYES

National Council of the Episcopal Church

Miss FLORA DAVIDSON

National Lutheran Council

Mrs. KENNETH CARPENTER

The author summarizes the consensus of this conference, identifies principles illustrated in the six case reports, and also reflects his own experience in establishing an interracial institution for adolescent boys.

QUEST FOR EQUALITY is designed to help institutions make their services available to children of minority groups—Negro, Indian, Latin, Oriental. Such help has been requested by board members, community supporters, administrators, and staff members of child caring institutions, as well as councils of social agencies and State agency licensing consultants.

This pamphlet reflects the challenge and hard work involved in opening doors without discrimination to children. The Children's Bureau hopes that it will serve as a guide to child caring institutions and other group care programs in all sections of the Nation that are about to embark on the quest for equality for children.

Katherine B. Oettinger

KATHERINE B. OETTINGER
Chief, Children's Bureau
WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

DISCRIMINATION PROHIBITED—Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 states: "No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance." Therefore, the programs of the Children's Bureau like every program or activity receiving financial assistance from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, must be operated in compliance with this law.

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the story of how six institutions opened their doors to serve Negro children and their families

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QUEST FOR EQUALITY

IN THE UNITED STATES during the last two decades, we have become accustomed to technological and social change, for we live with it every day. We recognize that change is inevitable—and that it is occurring at a rapidly increasing rate. Social change brings not only new challenges but also vast new opportunities and responsibilities. Any child caring institution that has not desegregated faces such new challenges and opportunities.

Elimination of discrimination is no longer an issue for these institutions. Rather, it is how to go about reaching this goal. Child caring institutions have made many hopeful beginnings toward insuring the equality of opportunity for children on their campuses—and the quest goes on.

Each institution, like each child, is unique. The process of moving from segregation to desegregation differs from institution to institution. Most of these are in Northern, Western, and Southwestern States. More recently, they have been joined by institutions in the border and Southern States.

Each institution has its own mixture of problems, community experience and attitudes which influence the pattern of progress. True, we can learn from our own experience and the experience of others and share promising practices. But each situation calls for creativeness at the moment and for a fresh approach to what is always, in some respect, new and unique.

The real challenge is to build an institution where equality is a reality, not just a hoped-for goal—and through the soundness of this building, build the ability of all its children to contribute to a democratic Nation with all the rights and responsibilities this entails.

How well are we preparing these children for tomorrow—for living in a society which recognizes the dignity and worth of every child and which expects each to make his contribution toward living, learning, and working with people of many races and nationalities?

The struggle of the public schools to help children in this regard has been well publicized. But a quiet, unrecognized movement of tremendous proportions has been developing also among child caring institutions of the Nation. Many institutions have desegregated already. About half of the child caring institutions have now fully desegregated or are in the process of desegregating their admissions and services for children and families. Many of these institutions now accept and serve Negro, Latin, Indian, and Oriental children without discrimination. A similar trend is occurring in previously all Negro institutions which are now accepting white children or have consolidated their services with related white institutions.

Many other institutions are considering or have initiated their admission and services on a nondiscriminatory basis. But many States still have one or more institutions which have not initiated or successfully implemented the transition toward desegregation.

WHAT PROMPTS CHANGE?

Every institution moves toward desegregation for such positive reasons as the following:

- Desire to relate the child rearing goals of the institution to the social policy of the Nation as expressed in the Constitution, in the Supreme Court decision of 1954 outlawing school segregation, and in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in which Congress wrote into law the requirement that no persons be excluded from the benefits of any federally aided program because of race, or color, or national origin.

- Moral or ethical desire to promote the maximum growth of the child in a democratic society.

- Religious or ethical conviction regarding the need to establish equal opportunity for all races, nationalities, social, religious, and economic groups for the fullest development of each child.

- Conviction that public and voluntary welfare services should be developed on a total community and combined agency basis to make maximum use of tax and voluntary support for preventive, diagnostic, and treatment services for children and families.

This latter concept is cited in the Child Welfare League of America standards for institutions:

"Institutional care services should be provided for children who need care and treatment on the basis of their individual needs and problems without restriction based on race, color, minority status, or ethnic origin. Organization of services on a racially segregated basis is harmful to children. All children's institutions, both private and public, should be integrated." (3)

Other motivations for desegregation are essentially negative, such as:

- Compliance because of pressure from a public, religious, or nonsectarian standard setting organization.

- Compliance to obtain or continue to obtain State or local public funds for purchase of care for individual children.

- Compliance to obtain Federal surplus food commodities, property, or research funds.

- Compliance in response to local pressure groups.

- Compliance because other institutions are desegregating, etc.

It is a mistake to assume that desegregation of child caring institutions will solve the broader community problem of providing comprehensive services for children who need care and treatment away from their own families. But desegregation of these institutions can stimulate a broader, interagency review of community needs and use of available resources for children without differentiation because of race, color, or national origin.

THE PROCESS OF CHANGE

More similarities than differences appear in the process that institutions undergo in accepting and serving children on a desegregated basis. This is evident in the case reports of institutions in Detroit, Mich., Baltimore, Md., Austin, Tex., Washington, D.C., Anchorage, Ky., and Charlotte, N.C., beginning on page 25.

Admittedly, these case reports have limitations in their lack of uniform and representative reporting from all sections of the Nation. They pose no simple answers; they reveal no formula. They offer no standard, quick, and certain method that every institution can use in desegregation. In a very real sense, the situation in each institution, like each child, is unique. But they do suggest general principles and some methods which, of course, have to be modified by local situations, factors, and conditions.

But despite variations in approach, in sequence, and in the complications or smoothness of the transition, in many ways desegregation follows a pattern: Those responsible for policy decide to desegregate. The administrator implements the decision with the board, the community, the staff, and the children in residence to gain acceptance of the idea.

As children and staff from minority groups enter the institution, the administrator strives to anticipate and alleviate any tensions or problems that occur within the institution and in the community, and helps the entire institution use the process constructively.

These methods not only apply to the process involved in opening doors to Negro children but also to children in many racial and nationality groups—Mexican, Indian, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Oriental, and other children as well.

DESEGREGATION

Desegregation can be partial or complete. It is only partial if Negro children are admitted and assigned to cottages without discrimination—but the children cluster by color at one end of the recreation field or dining hall; teams are chosen by color; white staff are not easy and comfortable with Negro staff; and families are assigned to caseworkers on the basis of color.

The fully desegregated institutions reflect themselves in other ways. The voices and ideas of Negro men and women are listened to in board meetings. Staff members are chosen for their qualifications, not by their color. Diagnosis, treatment planning, and care are based on the conditions and needs of a child and his family. Cottage placements are based on individual treatment needs and group dynamics. Everyone is able "to live, work, and play together, and treat each other with respect." (6)

Open communications and constant orientation as to what is going on are the order of the day. Only then can an institution be honest, imaginative, and creative in its program, in its practices, and in its conviction that children in institutions, regardless of their race or economic status, must have an opportunity to enter the mainstream of American life. The truly desegregated institution can be an experience in human relations of such profound value for children that they carry it with them throughout their entire lives.

HOW LONG DOES IT TAKE?

The process of desegregation starts with the first informal discussion of board, administrator, or staff on the subject of admitting Negro children into the institution. The process comes to another milestone when the first Negro child is admitted. The process pauses for a brief time when administrator, staff, and outsiders seem confused in differentiating between a "racial episode" and a nonracial child rearing problem. Desegregation is accomplished when other Negro youngsters have been admitted and a sufficient amount of time has elapsed to make admission and service to Negro children and their families on the same basis as to others.

How long does this take? Some administrators claim the process "jelled" within 3 or 4 months. Others believe it takes 18 months or almost 2 years.

The time it will take for desegregation in an institution depends on such factors as:

1. **Board consensus.**
2. **Administrative conviction and leadership.**
3. **Support from the institution's sponsoring organization and major financial contributors.**
4. **Elimination of legal obstruction to desegregation.**
5. **Degree of desegregation prevailing in community schools, churches, and neighborhood facilities.**
6. **Dependence on referrals from public and voluntary agencies complying with civil rights requirements.**
7. **Dependence on purchase of care arrangements with public or voluntary agencies which are discontinuing use of segregated institutions.**

Several administrators recall a "slow start," perhaps for the same reasons as revealed in the process of desegregating schools. (7)

"When the issue of desegregation is brought close to a community, the opinions of the groups within it crystallize gradually as the issue grows in significance. What eventually forms as the attitude of a particular group may begin as an

inchoate collection of poorly defined individual attitudes.

"As the members of the group clarify their attitudes and announce their decisions, more and more people find it possible to take a definite stand on the issue. There results a 'bandwagon effect' in that the rate of joining a side accelerates.

"Whatever people's anticipatory feeling and behavior may be, it is important to note that reports from those areas which have already desegregated their schools are generally favorable. There has been a minimum of substantial or sustained opposition, and many fears and predictions of dire consequences have proven groundless."

No matter how long it takes to desegregate the institution, the ultimate gain is priceless in the lives of children. Those institutions which move quickly are probably reaping the rewards of prior preparation of community, board, and staff. Those who move slowly may be confronting deep-seated local opposition.

THE FIRST STEP

A journey of a thousand miles has to begin with a single step. This ancient observation also applies to the process of desegregation. Every segregated institution faces the task of deciding what its desegregation involves and how it is to be achieved.

The process comes to life—the first step is taken—when a forthright board member or parent agency executive (Baltimore case report), and administrator (Detroit), or both

(Washington)* take the first step by publicly stating an intent to open the institution's doors to all children and its determination to do so.

This public proposal draws a reaction, sometimes slowly and sometimes quickly, by those who favor, oppose, are uncertain, or refuse to comment on the proposal.

If the proposal is based on negative reasons cited earlier, the "going will be sticky" as expressed by one administrator. If the proposal is made and interpreted for positive reasons, the ensuing reaction engages itself around the basic philanthropic motives behind the proposal. And this is more constructive.

Several observations are pertinent regarding this step of the process:

- Advance exploratory discussions can help prepare individuals psychologically for the proposal.

- Proposals made by the institution's board members or administrator may be more acceptable than proposals made by outside organizations (but not necessarily).

- The higher the prestige and status of the person making the proposal, the more rapidly the proposal may be accepted.

One Mississippi hospital administrator (1) at this juncture brought together his department heads, staff, and board of directors to describe the foundation for his proposal:

"The Government's concern over minority groups, the activities of various minority groups in our and other States, the rise of new, small nations, and the deep concern felt for underdeveloped areas and their people helped show that integration was coming. We certainly would not be able to live on an island unaffected by these attitudes and changing times."

This step is the time for board, administrator, and staff to consider such concepts as:

1. The dignity and worth of every person in our society, including the children and families who need to use the care and treatment provided by residential institutions.
2. Children are best prepared for living in a society of many races and nationalities by being introduced to such experiences early in their childhood.
3. The goals of the institution should be consonant with the goals of parents, schools, communities, and the Nation.
4. Institutions must always be ready to respond to changing social, economic, and cultural forces in the community. Institutions have responded in the past to such changes (e.g., desegregating separate boys' and girls' institutions; sending children out to community schools; providing services to parents as well as children; introducing casework, psychological, and psychiatric services to serve a changing clientele).
5. Desegregation will eventually come to all institutions, but the time and manner of change will vary from community to community.

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* See case reports beginning on page 25.

6. The institution should view desegregation as a creative opportunity to make its own positive transition to desegregation rather than be forced at some time into negative compliance.

The proposal will be discussed, argued, and may create considerable heat. New adherents will join. Some opponents will become supporters. Some opposers will yield. Others will withdraw open opposition or remain quiet or even become resigned. As one administrator observed, "The issue is so important that we will probably lose some board members if we desegregate and we will lose some board members if we don't."

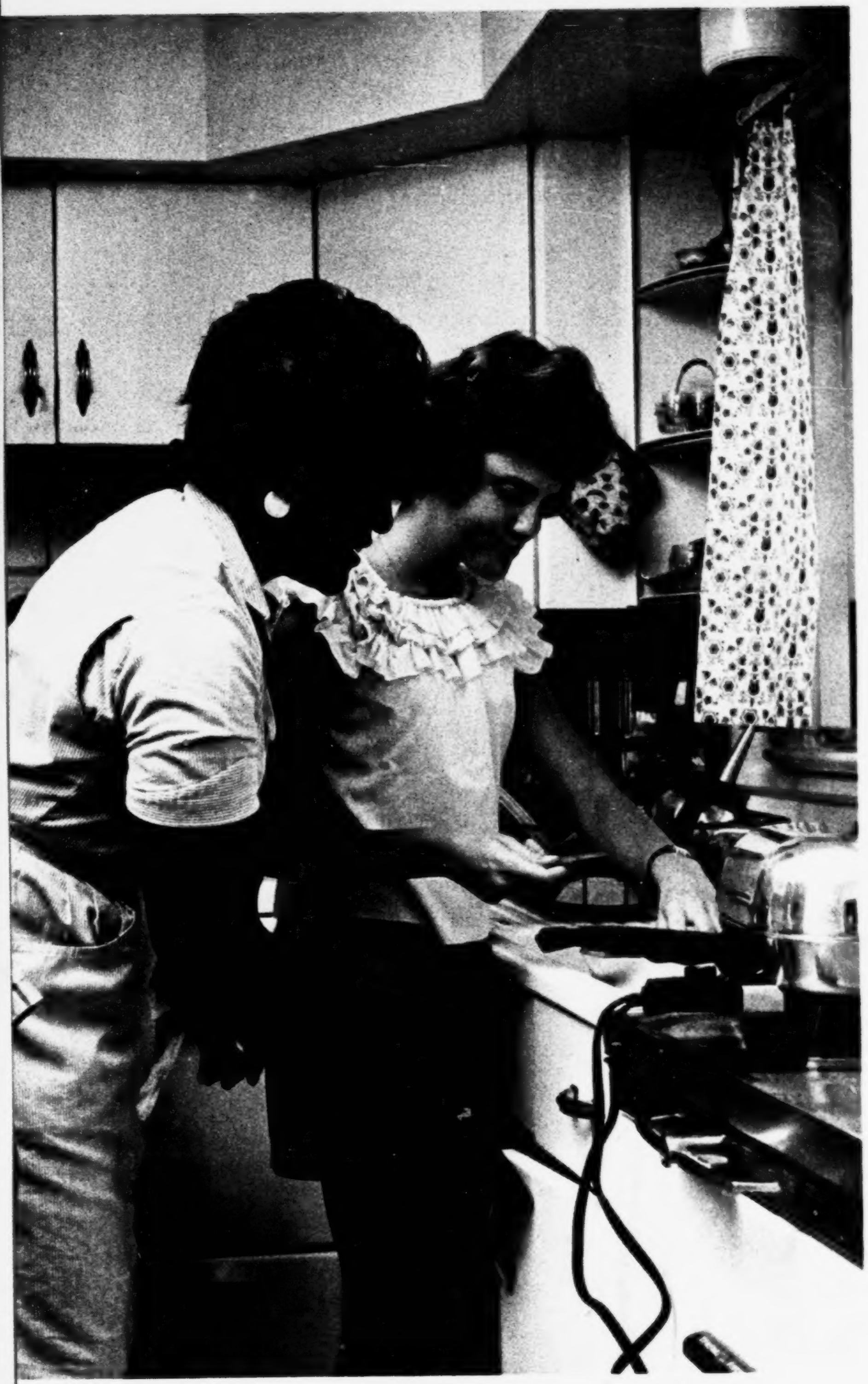
ESTABLISHMENT OF BOARD POLICY

These discussions usually clarify the concept of desegregation and the philosophy behind it sufficiently enough to enable the responsible board or public officials to prepare their statement of policy and plan for desegregation of the institution.

At this point, institutional administrators stress the need for strong consensus and cooperation among board, administrator, and staff on interpreting and implementing the policy and plan.

Before this statement is prepared for general use, however, most institutions discuss the proposed statement with their major sources of support, sponsorship, admissions, and referral.

Some institutions encounter minor obstacles at this point. Some face major problems. For example, one institution in a southern border State wants to desegregate but is financially supported by over 3,000 individual churches—



and only a few of these have opened their church membership to Negroes. This institution may experiment with a racially mixed group home in an urban area before it confronts its many churches with a proposal for total desegregation of its residential campus. Board members in a somewhat related position in another State launched a widespread and successful interpretation program in an effort to gain support for the proposal.

Most institutions, however, are in a more fortunate position and receive support and commendation for their desegregation proposal from related courts, agencies, local organizations, community planning groups, and national church and nonsectarian standard setting organizations. All State and local public welfare departments are encouraging and helping institutions to desegregate in order to receive, or continue to receive, children referred by these public agencies which must comply with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act in order to continue to receive Federal funds.

Finally, two additional early steps should be undertaken by the institution:

1. **Establishing a sound legal base for the desegregation process. Voluntary institutions may need to revise charters to delete references to "white" children, confer with heirs to legacies which bring support to the institution, and obtain necessary court approval.**
2. **Establishing a plan for the introduction of Negro board members and staff members. The desegregation process has a**

firmer base when there are Negro board members and staff to help.

THE ADMINISTRATOR'S ROLE

The administrator of the child caring institution, like the administrator of a local school or hospital, carries a major responsibility for the desegregation process. His is the task of leadership. He helps to create a climate for desegregation; works with board members on policy; interprets the plan to community, schools, neighbors, agencies, parents, staff, children, and the public at large; and, most important, maintains an overview of all the myriad "pieces" that emerge and eventually coalesce in the desegregation process.

Local factors will determine the ease or complexity of the desegregation task ahead of him. One administrator of a training school, for example, perhaps forgetting the groundwork his predecessors laid, looks back at the desegregation process with the comment, "There's nothing to it." Another administrator recalls the "blood, sweat, and tears I had to put into a process that eventually turned out so well for all of us."

The administrator's personal maturity and attitudes toward Negro children and families will be engaged in this process at every step. So will his professional competence in helping to effect change in institutional intake, staffing, programing, and community relations. He may be the "trail blazer" among institutional administrators in his State. If so, he can profit from discussion and help from school principals and hospital administrators who have implemented desegregation. If he is following other institutional administrators, he may find their counsel very helpful.

Several State associations of child caring executives have convened workshops on the subject of desegregation. It has been discussed at length at one of the Chapel Hill workshops convened each summer by the University of North Carolina School of Social Work. Both the Children's Bureau and the Child Welfare League of America are working closely on this matter with the licensing staff of State departments of public welfare and with national church consultants for institutions.

From a variety of administrators who have been through the process of desegregating their institutions comes the following advice:

- Make sure you are not involved in other major undertakings, like a big construction program, when you go into desegregation. You will need all the time you can muster to do a good job of desegregating.

- Provide opportunities for airing and resolving the inevitable differences of opinion which can be expected to arise.

- Involve your caseworkers in picking up on unresolved attitudes in some children and parents which must have resolution for the peace of mind of the child, the parent, and the institution.

- Try to "get your house" in order by preparing staff, volunteers, and other groups before you take on desegregation.

- Free your child care staff, teachers, and others from the total load of interpretation to parents, agencies, etc., by assuming more of this yourself.

- You have to be mature and fair with your staff—and treat them without prejudice.

- You need to be a human relations engineer in carrying out the social policies directed by our society, assumed by your board, effected largely through your staff, and benefiting the development of children referred to you for care and treatment.

The administrator sets the tone for the desegregation process by identifying the goals for desegregation, identifying a role for each participant, and recognizing that every individual board and staff member, neighbor, child, and parent reacts to desegregation from the breadth of his own life experience and current attitudes among his own family, business, church, and other associates. Each individual can find his most constructive role by bridging whatever cultural gap remains for him personally. As the administrator helps individuals find their most constructive role in the desegregation process, his understanding and supportive role tend to create a similar attitude of mutual support among others.

Many administrators have endured the hard and long journey from democratic ideal to reality. Having achieved broad acceptance of desegregation from the policymakers and the community—when the applause has died, when the opponents, if any, have thinned out—the administrator is left with many administrative details still to be done.

But this is how a sound institution for all children needing its services is built—brick by brick and in the tumult of each day.

STAFF

Staff must be involved directly in planning for the desegregation of a child caring institution. Elimination of discrimination can only be achieved if the members of the staff are committed to this effort and deeply engrossed in carrying it forward. Only under such circumstances can an all-fronts effort be undertaken to improve the opportunities offered by the institution for all children.

The administrator should initiate staff discussion on desegregation as early as possible:

1. **To clarify the purposes of desegregation as part of the healthy development of children.**
2. **To help staff express and resolve anxieties and strengthen their convictions.**
3. **To help formulate the plan for desegregated admission and service.**
4. **To communicate freely during the process itself and to share each other's experiences.**
5. **To help evaluate the effects of desegrega-**

tion on the institution's primary purposes in providing care and treatment.

6. To be able "to approach the new situation with objectivity and skill." (6)

Some administrators (Baltimore) began with employment of Negro staff before admitting the first Negro child. A constructive interaction was established among Negro and white staff members as a way of setting the stage for the same interactions among children. Another administrator reports:

> *"We made changes in personnel practices by hiring the person who could best meet the need of the job offered and tried to break down the children's thinking that all house parents and office staff were white; all other staff members, in the category of servants."* (Washington, D.C.)

The administrator of one institution (Detroit) has some particularly penetrating observations regarding employment of Negro staff:

> *"As with the first full-time Negro worker, all have been employed, not for the sake of integration, but because they were the best qualified applicants seeking those particular jobs.*
>
> *"The importance of having Negro employees in an agency seeking to give a service to all racial groups cannot be overlooked as the presence and participation of the Negro worker has a direct influence on the feelings, decisions, and actions of staff, administration, board, and clients. When people live, work, and play together day after day, they develop mutual understanding, acceptance, concern, respect, and love for each other that break down their feelings of fear and intolerance—perhaps not completely, but to a degree that does not ordinarily allow these feelings to interfere with the resolution of mutual concerns. However, there have been a few workers—both white and Negro—who have not been able to resolve their feelings about each other or about their own position in life and it has been necessary for them to seek employment elsewhere.*
>
> *"The agency has found that the employment of Negro workers is important to the Negro client who seeks the help of the child welfare institution. The Negro client may have a white or Negro worker, but when he has a white worker it has seemed that, in general, the client feels more at ease and trustful of the agency when he sees that there are Negro workers also on the staff. Some white parents have, at first, objected to having Negro workers but these feelings have changed into acceptance after they have become better acquainted and feel the genuine concern of the worker for their family problems.*
>
> *"An integrated staff has also been very important for children in care, not only because it gives them a positive experience in living with children and adults of different races, but because a child often needs the direct support of someone with whom he can more easily identify."*

The administrator and supervisory staff in an institution need to be supportive, patient, and helpful in preparing their staff as the institution implements the desegregation process. Some institutions have accelerated staff orientation by arranging staff visits to desegregated institutions for observation; by inviting human relations consultants for staff discussions and workshops; and by using mature, unprejudiced

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staff to help other staff members. Together, administration and staff must discover how they can, in fact, bring children from minority groups into full participation in the program of the institution, how they can minimize the effect of long years of discrimination on these children, and how they can support and promote understanding and equality between children in the institution.

Variations in staff attitudes should be expected. Some will reach a high level of love, understanding, and helpfulness for all children, white and Negro, in their cottage, classroom, or caseload. Some will achieve this only in a partial or uneven sense. Some will be unable to resolve their attitudes constructively and will resign or should be helped to resign.

A few more pertinent observations have been made by administrators in regard to staff:

1. **"Help your staff think out in general what they will do in a variety of situations before they are under pressure in the situation."**
2. **"Each staff member abides by the same agreed upon principles, but implements them through his own personality and way of working with children and adults."**
3. **"Staff should be encouraged to find ways of minimizing friction and converting 'trouble' into an educational experience for all."**
4. **"Each staff member should have a personal stake in making the desegregation and integration plan work."**
5. **"Use your more mature and culturally grown up white staff and children to greet and make comfortable the new Negro staff and children."**
6. **"Your Negro staff should be mature enough to treat each child according to his need—and not be oversevere with Negro children and too soft with white children."**
7. **"Attitudes of teachers (or staff) do not change overnight, any more than do attitudes of children. It has been found, however, that where teachers of both groups can meet on a professional level to discuss mutual problems, many of the stereotypes and distortions fade away. They begin to see each other as equals and as persons worthy of respect. This feeling is then apt to carry over to the children, and teachers are then more apt to see each child as he is." (6)**

There are many approaches—some of them seemingly little things—which, added together, enable the staff to move the child caring institution forward in handling interracial problems in order to promote understanding.

WORKING WITH THE COMMUNITY

The institution is a part of a neighborhood, a community, and is one of many community resources. Some institutions are almost self-contained in providing a program that keeps their children on the institution's campus most of the time (Washington). Others use both campus and community activities (Detroit). In no instance, even in custodial training schools for delinquents, can the institution be completely isolated. In many ways, the institution touches the community; in many ways, the community touches the institution.

For these reasons, the institution's board, administrator, and staff must consider all the community forces and factors which will help or hinder the desegregation process in the institution. Assessment of these forces, analysis of ways of using or overcoming them, a plan for working with the community, and a means for evaluation are all involved in this phase of activity.

Board members and the administrator carry most of the weight of community interpretation. An oft-repeated suggestion is that "a strong, objective, and positive approach solves most problems that arise in agency-community relationships" (Detroit).

Local schools.—Most institutions report easy communication and a comfortable relationship with local public or parochial schools in accepting Negro youngsters from the institution. The tremendous national ferment for desegregation of public schools has helped to prepare schools for admission of Negro youngsters from institutions.

The Detroit institution discovered that public school teachers, principals, and students welcomed the institution's Negro children, but objections came from parents of white children in the school.

School principals and school boards should be made aware of the institution's plan for desegregation in order to prepare their own staff.

Care must be taken to differentiate problems that arise between the institution's Negro children and other children in the schools, because so many of these problems are normal problems between children of any color and are not racially involved problems.

The institution's first Negro child to enter the local public school will usually be viewed with much more interest and attention than subsequent children. Thus, it is helpful to the institution if its first child does well. To help insure this, many institutions carefully study their first Negro child to be admitted in school in terms of his previous school adjustment. If the child shows unusual academic or social problems, institutions arrange for special tutoring, remedial education, casework, and therapy on the institution's campus. When the child is ready, the local public school is called and asked to admit the child.

When the local public school is still all white and the institution's first Negro child will be the school's first Negro child, much closer communication and planning is needed among school board, principal, teachers, and the institution's board, administrator, and staff.

Community health facilities.—The administrator may need to help prepare local health facilities for service to Negro children from the institution. Exploratory discussions should be initiated with local physicians, outpatient and clinic facilities, and with inpatient hospital and mental hospital facilities which may be needed.

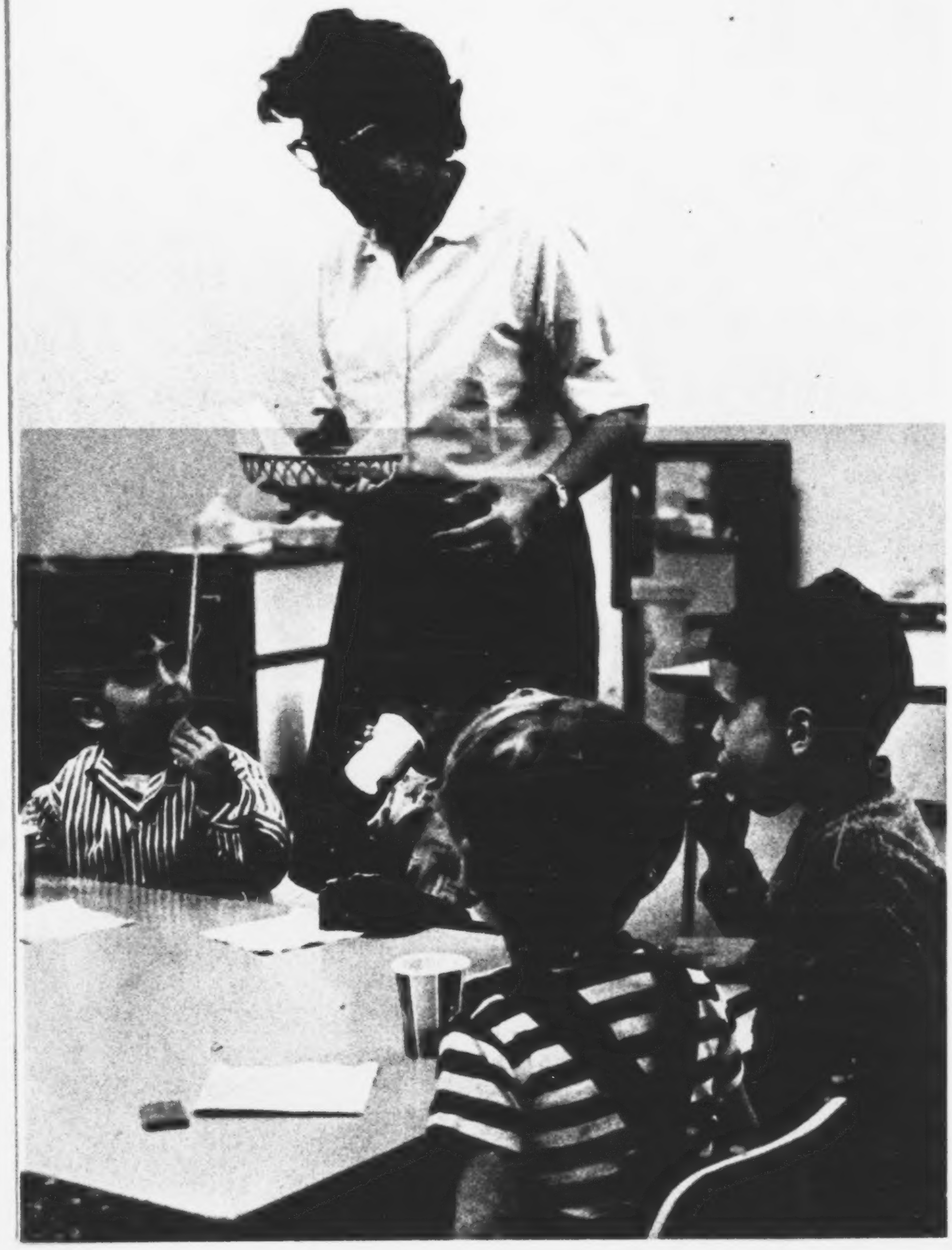
In some institutions, this may mean no more than a brief telephone call to alert those facilities which provide services on a desegregated basis. In other communities, a series of conferences may be necessary to develop ways of serving the institution's Negro children.

Neighbors, civic organizations.—Soon after the institution asks the local public school to admit a Negro child, or word has reached the neighborhood about the pending or actual admission of a Negro youngster, reactions and protests can be expected from some individual neighbors, shopkeepers, or civic groups. In one community (Detroit), "None of the protests were in the nature of threats toward the agency but were expressions of fear that the community itself would become integrated and of dislikes of having their children go to school with Negro children."

The administrator of the Washington insti-

tution for disturbed children reports that:

"Some of the problems that had been anticipated by those who felt integration would be a mistake have not materialized. There was concern about the neighborhood reaction, since we are located in a substantial and conservative residential area where there have never been any Negro families. We took the precaution, however, of 'cultivating' the neighborhood as soon as we began the new program, since there was concern about having disturbed children in the area, and we wanted good and friendly relations with the neighbors. We tried to keep the children away from the boundary lines of the property, and did not allow them to have 'nuisance value.' Before and during the time we were integrating the program, we invited all neighbors—and this is a substantial number—to visit the home, and see what we were doing. The staff hand delivered invitations to an 'open house,' where all activities of the home were demonstrated and explained, and there was an enthusiastic response from the neighborhood. We have had no problems, and have had a friendly interest instead. We have also had offers of volunteer services from neighbors, and donations of



books, toys, bicycles, etc. We do not anticipate that any difficulties will develop."

In commenting about neighborhood reactions, one school administrator (5) reminds us that "Sudden, radical changes cause many to throw up their guard," and suggests patience in promoting a gradual broadening of tolerance and understanding in the neighborhood.

A fine point is made by the Detroit institution to the effect that an institution's desegregation proposal should not be presented to community groups in such a manner that they misunderstand and think their approval is being requested.

Unfortunately, there are individuals in almost every community who seek to deny equal opportunities for children of minority racial, religious, economic, or nationality groups. These individuals will try to promote hostility toward the institution's desegregation plan as long as they feel they are mobilizing other hostile forces in the community. If they sense a contrary mobilization of approval of desegregation in the community, these individuals usually withdraw. In responding to their hostility, the institution must exercise patience, firmness, and understanding of the negative personal dynamics controlling these individuals on the issues of desegregation.

Local community groups promoting equal opportunity for Negro youngsters should be helped to understand the goals and processes the institution has established in moving toward desegregation. Most of these groups can aid in many direct and indirect ways. Sometimes, however, a group wants to promote equality without helping to promote in Negro families and their youngsters the sense of responsibility that they must develop as they share in the total institutional task of desegregation. At all times, everyday problems and responsibilities that confront all children and staff in institutional child rearing must be differentiated from racial episodes.

Each institution undergoing desegregation must assess and work with the widest range of circumstances in its local community—from the segregated, all white neighborhood, schools, and churches, to the fully integrated neighborhood, schools, and churches. But successfully handled, this broadening of community tolerance is a benefit to the institution. It is also a real growth experience for the community as part of the ground swell in our Nation's cultural growth.

Churches.—Churches, too, will vary widely in different sections of the country and even in different sections of the same community in their attitude toward desegregation in institutions.

This wide variation is apparent in the case reports in the appendix. The institution in the District of Columbia was fortunate in immediately gaining active support from its Bishop. In contrast, all six churches used by the Baltimore institution were segregated.

"It was necessary to visit each we attended, explain the change in our policy and ask if we could continue to attend when we became a mixed group. The clergy were approached first and responded in various ways. Two said 'Yes' without hesitation. Another approved but said he must present the idea to his board. A fourth felt it was a real opportunity for his church to take a 'living stand' on the matter of integration, but

apparently his church members did not take the matter lightly for we were assured we would be welcome at the regular church service, but possibly it would be better to wait a while before allowing any of the children to attend the youth programs at the church. Another refused and also refused to allow us to speak to the church board. Despite this response, we found the church members uncertain about the plan, and we were invited to the various church groups to tell about Cylburn's plan to integrate. In doing this, we tried to express the great need of the children who lived at the home and what the church could do to help. This took infinite time because there were five churches needing help. The sixth church just quietly went its way without us.

"When the day came to take the mixed group to church, the children were made to feel welcome, and because we had talked to them about their responsibility behaviorwise, all apparently went well.

"It was not until sometime later that unaccepting individuals began to call Cylburn to tell me personally that having Negro children present had spoiled the service for this particular individual. Such calls were referred to the minister—no names being mentioned since no names were given—and he, in turn, would work with the problem.

"About this same time I received many middle-of-the-night calls which were disturbing and useless and very frustrating."

Since the Baltimore institution's experience in 1956—soon after the May 1954 Supreme Court decision—many churches have opened their doors to church membership on an interracial basis. The movement has been supported and promoted by most of the national church organizations, including those who participated in the development of this document. As

church momentum accelerates toward interracial church membership, the advent of desegregation in a local child caring institution will be welcomed as a parallel effort.

PARENTS

Soon after the board's desegregation policy is stated, parents of children in the institution will need to be advised regarding: the proposed desegregation; the reason behind the plan; the anticipated benefits for children; and the part that children and parents will be expected to play in the desegregation process.

Reassurance and interpretation from the staff are usually enough to enable most parents to promise their support, at least on an "I'll wait and see how it affects my child" basis. Most caseworkers are comfortable as they talk with parents regarding the proposed change. Some caseworkers, a bit anxious about the first few conferences, soon settle down to looking upon this discussion much as they do other matters involving parents with children in residence.

Both Negro and white parents need to be assured that all children in the institution and their families at home will be served on the basis of their needs and not their race.

Some white parents will favor the move. Some will oppose it. Some will threaten to (or actually) remove their children. Most parents will fall in between these extremes while they work through their attitudes and feelings.

Parents of the children to be admitted often show some anxiety, too, especially if their life experience has been in segregated communities, schools, and churches. Their concern is, "Will my child get fair and helpful treatment?" And, "What will this do to him when he comes back to live at home?"

Every child, both white and Negro, needs help from the institution's caseworker in relating to different kinds of community situations. He needs help in carrying over the institution's desegregated living pattern to later experiences in local schools, neighborhood facilities, jobs, and military service. He may need more help in learning how to recognize and constructively meet hostile attitudes reflected in segregated community facilities, and in individuals and groups with strong racial prejudice.

Both Negro and white youngsters who have profited from the experience of a desegregated institution may be of some service to their communities in helping to foster healthier interracial attitudes.

Many institutions for dependent children stress rehabilitation of the family as part of their total service program. Some administrators wonder if desegregation will cause a "two culture" conflict for Negro and white children who experience desegregated living in the institution and then return to a predominantly segregated community. However, some other administrators believe this concern may be more of a rationalization.

CHILDREN

Most white youngsters are surprisingly constructive in their participation in welcoming and living with Negro children. This is especially so when desegregation is presented to them as an opportunity for an educational experience, an opportunity to prepare them for more constructive living at home and in various parts of the country in their lifetime.

However, even for such well-intentioned white youngsters, there are complexities. As one white adolescent boy explained to the author, "I feel no prejudice in myself or others

here at the children's home. I begin to feel it outside, in school or the soda fountain—that's where I would want to protect our Negro buddies of the home. But where I really want to boil over is when I go home for visits and my stepfather starts working me over for living with Negroes."

Most Negro youngsters coming to desegregated institutions face parallel problems. They quickly respond to constructive relationships at the institution, but they sense the prejudice at the soda fountain and want to protect their white friends from conflict with the outsiders.

They have another set of adjustments to make when they return for visits to their families or relatives in predominantly Negro neighborhoods.

Perhaps, the subtlest kind of distinction was made by Virginia, a 7-year-old Negro girl engaged in a discussion in her classroom. A white girl had just made the comment, "Of course, it's true that we like people because they are people, not because they are white. Look at how much we love Virginia, and she's black." Virginia interrupted the discussion with the comment: "But I'm not black. I'm a beautiful brown."

Staff should share their own thinking on the desegregation process before broadside discussion is initiated with children. All groups of staff personnel (child care staff, teachers, caseworkers, shop supervisors, etc.) should continue to communicate with the administrator and with each other on the course of the discussions with children. Everyone can profit from the experience of the other.

Discussions with children can be initiated in a variety of ways: with constructive campus leaders, first—in classrooms, in cottages, in group therapy sessions, and individually in casework conferences.

One administrator says:

"As you move toward desegregation, give children in the institution an opportunity to ex-

press their reactions. They will have intelligent ideas about procedures and ways of making Negro or other minority group children welcome."

With few exceptions, a generally sympathetic group of white children will do a nice human relations job of accepting the staff's anxiety over their role in the desegregation process, especially with a new Negro teacher or child care staff. As one Negro teacher expressed it:

"Sometimes I have a feeling that the white kids are leaning over backwards to show me just how much they do want to cooperate. They are a grand group—all of them." (9)

A few children will experience a momentary pause when they are using showers for the first time with Negro youngsters, or sitting at the same dining table, but the pause is very brief and children usually are "back to normal before the day is over."

The first Negro child to enter the institution will usually be anxious about his status in a previously all white institution. Administrators differ in their strategy here. Some prefer to have only one Negro child admitted at the beginning; some prefer two or more. In the author's own experience, admission of only one Negro adolescent boy to a previously all white group worked like a charm because of good preparation and prior knowledge of this boy's basketball prowess. (Our team still had not won its first game.) Conversely, sometimes the desegregation process may actually be delayed when two or more anxious Negro youngsters are admitted at the same time and stick close to each other for mutual comfort.

A Negro youngster with some experience in a mixed school, camp, Sunday school class, or other group, finds the initial adjustment easier than a youngster who has experienced only the segregated neighborhood, school, and church. The latter child may still be unconvinced he belongs to a culture that cares. Some Negro children who come to child caring institutions initially excuse their episodes of misconduct with the hint that "Every fault you find is because I am Negro, and you are prejudiced." (2) This phase must be worked through with them before they are able to face the problems which they need to overcome during their resident period.

Prior group discussion with the white children in residence will usually reveal the individual child with hostile attitudes toward Negro children. He may express this quickly or he may be the obviously silent one, unable or unwilling to express his feelings. His hostility may grow and could create problems if this youngster has status or power among the other children for other reasons. Sometimes, a sequence of conferences between the child and the caseworker can be helpful. Sometimes, the prejudice he exhibits is really a basic reservoir of hate which finds a new outlet on the subject of race. In only a few instances, such children have been removed to facilitate the greatest good for the institution.

"What if we begin to get as many Negro children as white children, or if we have more Negro children than white children in the cottages?" is a question posed by some administrators. This author, as an administrator of a desegregated institution for adolescent boys, watched the ratio of white to Negro boys change in both directions with no difference occurring to the boys. In 4 years, only one "episode" marred a constructive and satisfying interracial experience. And this occurred, as one boy later observed, "when the administration goofed and accepted on the same day a psycho Negro boy and a kooky white boy and the two went at each other because of color." Incidentally, the ensuing group discussion reflected the majority opinion among the youngsters that "both boys are no good and couldn't change even if they wanted to * * * they have no right to mess up a good thing we got going here for years * * *."

Many child caring institutions have quietly gone about ending segregation with little trouble—and those planning desegregation have every reason to feel encouraged. The case reports which follow show that others have faced this task and carried it through to accomplishment.

No child can truly mature unless his life is opened to the wonderful variety of people in our democracy. It is no longer a privilege for children to grow up knowing many kinds of people. It is now one of the minimum essentials of our time. Child caring institutions have both the chance and the privilege of weaving our society's commitment to equal opportunity into the lives of children who are in their charge.

The reader is urged to study the verbatim, unedited case reports to strengthen his philosophy and commitment to equal opportunities for children, to gain the broadest perspective on ways of implementing desegregation, and to share these reports with institutional board and staff.

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the story of how
six institutions opened
their doors to serve
Negro children
and their families

INTEGRATION IN A RESIDENTIAL TREATMENT CENTER FOR EMOTIONALLY DISTURBED CHILDREN

MRS. ELSA A. MILLER
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ON JUNE 30, 1957, the Episcopal Home for Children, which had a 55-year history of offering custodial care for dependent or partially dependent white children, closed its doors. It had become apparent that the home, which was caring for a steadily decreasing population of children, was no longer serving the then vital purpose for which it had been established. It was, in a sense, out of step with the changing concepts of child care in a changing world. Figuratively, the doors of the home remained closed until January 1959, when they were opened to the first children to be accepted into an entirely new program—a residential treatment center for emotionally disturbed children.

One cannot think of this in such uncomplicated terms as "off with the old" and "on with the new." This would be a gross oversimplification. It is a difficult and sometimes heartbreaking procedure to reorganize and change the purpose of an institution which has a long and honorable history, to which many people have given a great deal of support in time, work, and money, and in which they have, above all, a heavy emotional investment.

It takes a courageous board of directors, with wise and farsighted leadership, to act upon a need for change. To close doors is difficult enough—how to plan wisely to reopen them is even more difficult; both need thorough and competent professional study, with careful consideration of community needs.

Following the closing of the home, and the approval of the board for the new program to be launched, there were many problems to be resolved, including the problem of bitter feelings from many staunch supporters of the previous program. But there was one big question of great importance in the minds and hearts, and in the spoken thoughts of many; the question was how and when to integrate this previously totally segregated institution. That the program was to be open to Negro children was not even a question—both morally and in terms of serving a vital need in the community, a segregated treatment center was indefensible. That we were to be integrated was dealt with in one respect from the very beginning of the program, in the hiring of all the staff. We had to make sure that every staff member also had a conviction in that direction, and would be completely accepting of Negro children and their parents, and also of Negro staff members. It was recognized, however, that the change could not come about immediately. The prospect of integration was frightening to many people in the Washington area, and could not be broached until some of the wounds of the battle around the change of program had been healed.

The "healing" was accomplished through individual and group meetings; and through first-hand acquaintance with the program. Members of our women's auxiliary board, a very large group representing a number of parishes, were encouraged to visit. The enthusiastic support of this active, hard-working group was essential. A public relations and educational campaign was instituted throughout the diocese, to help us retain the old and add the new, in terms of financial support and interest. By the time the program became well established, and gave promise of being successful, we could find scarcely any remnants of their earlier bitter feelings. The time seemed to have come when active work toward integration could begin.

The Bishop of Washington, long an ardent worker for integration in all fields of endeavor, was ready to work individually and at the meetings of the board of directors, of which he was ex-officio president. Several members of the board were ready to aid him, as was the professional staff. Open discussions at board meetings, as well as conferences and discussions outside of formal meetings, were the order of the day. Slow and patient work is always required when an understanding of human relationships is involved, but in this situation there were the added elements of long-held attitudes and fears of the unknown. There had to be tolerance for the feelings of those who in all honesty thought we would be making a serious mistake to add *this* problem for disturbed children to cope with. There had to be recognition and acceptance of the validity of such thinking. Certainly there was no easy answer, but there could be full discussion, bringing in the professional experience of others; and there had to be an honest conviction expressed by the staff—a conviction that added problems, if any, could be resolved without damage to the program.

While these human relationship problems were being dealt with, another step was being taken. This was the legal procedure of looking into all legacies, some of which go back many, many years, and through which the home is partially supported. This took several months, since a large number of wills were involved. Another legal step that had to be taken was to have the charter, originally granted by Congress, amended to delete the word "white."

It was in November 1960, almost 2 years following the opening of the new program, that integration became a fact, overwhelmingly approved by the board of directors, with the enthusiasm and good feeling, and promise of wholehearted support that we had all hoped for and worked toward. There were those who thought it had moved too slowly, but it had moved soundly, and this we felt was of greater importance.

Our next step was to prepare the children at the home, and their parents, for the admission of Negro children into the program. The children at the home come from Maryland and Virginia as well as from the District of Columbia, so we draw from an essentially southern area. Many of the children had had no contact with Negro children in school or on playgrounds, and we were well aware of feelings and attitudes that would have to be dealt with. The parents were met with by the social workers with whom they were already in individual treatment. We did not ask their opinion about integrating the program—we simply told them that this was taking place. They were given the opportunity to express their feelings and anxieties about it, and ask all the questions they wanted to. We asked for their support in this move, and for their support of their children's acceptance of the situation. We had anticipated the possibility of one or two withdrawals of children from the program, but this did not materialize.

The children were met with in group meetings and in individual sessions. They were encouraged to express all their attitudes, questions, and fears, their positive and negative feelings. One by one, their fears were brought out in the light to look at—one by one, they were dissipated as they were discussed. We found that their fears were around news reports they had heard, and had enlarged upon, as well as around the intangibles of the unknown. Some of the children visualized *all* Negro children as being street fighters, using knives and brass knuckles, stealing and lying, and as being so strong they could and would beat up everybody. Specific points such as these could be handled realistically, in terms of their own behavior. For example, when several of the boys began talking about Negro children fighting with knives, I asked them if they had forgotten a recent period at the home when all silverware had to be accounted for before leaving the dining room. No, they had not forgotten. Why did this have to be done? "Because some of the boys were using knives and forks as weapons," was the response. I then asked them how many Negro children we had at that time. The answer, of course, was none. They realized in amazement that they, too, had used knives to fight. No matter what point was brought up, they would in the end come to the conclusion that they, too, did these things. Some were fighters, some would lie and steal, some threw stones, etc. They finally came to the conclusion that there probably weren't any real differences in the kinds of problems displayed—they were here because they had problems, and the Negro children would come because they had problems.

When we came to the intangibles, we had discussions about the fear of something new or different in their lives—the need to hold on to the known and familiar. Some of the children made the observation that when they came to the home, everything was new and different, but now they were used to it, and maybe they'd get used to Negro children, too. Others thought not, because of their color, and color made them different. Others wanted to know if they were black all the way through. Some of our most severely disturbed children equated dark skin with evil. As this went on, I began to talk to them about differences they had all observed, and what it meant. We discussed brown eggs and white eggs, and they all agreed that they were just alike inside. And so it went, with good ideas and mistaken notions coming out equally rapidly, until finally one of our more scientific youngsters burst out with: "I've got it. It's chemistry, that's all; just plain chemistry. The Negro kids have chemicals in them that makes them have dark skin and we've got chemicals in us that makes us have light skins." There was solemn agreement among them, with respect for the scientific mind.

Further discussions were held around verbal insults. Some of the children had encountered "dirty Jew," and "dirty Mick," and we had had discussions around it. They remembered the angry outbursts that preceded and followed the name calling. We discussed "dirty nigger" or "nigger" in the same way, as an insult designed to hurt as much as possible. It was interesting to us later to learn that the Negro children used "dirty nigger" as an insult to a white child or a Negro child, indiscriminately. It was used in the same way they might have used "you dirty rat." It was, therefore, an insult without any racial overtones as it was used at times, though at other times there was obviously a racial meaning.

These discussions, and the individual conferences with the children still troubled about this, or who had been reluctant to express themselves in a group, certainly bore fruit. When the first two Negro children were introduced, the children vied with one another as to who was to have the privilege of showing the newcomers around, and teaching them all their tricks, such as the best ways to outwit the counselors! The only fights we had were among the white children as to which ones were to have the privilege of having a Negro child in their dormitories!

We have encountered no problem of any magnitude in having both white and Negro children in a setting for severely disturbed children.

When there are any indications that feelings with a racial tinge might be developing in any child—either white or Negro—the situation is handled immediately—sometimes in discussion with only one child, and sometimes with the two or more children involved. Any problems around this are minimal compared with the other problems we have in this setting! Many "best friend" relationships have developed between Negro and white children, and we have found that the children group or pair off in relation to personality and play interest rather than in relation to color. Their acceptance of each other as children, with no attention to race, was vividly brought home to us one day when they were playing a game called "Black men, White men", and we suddenly realized that a Negro child had been chosen for each side. We feel that integration has worked smoothly and effectively and that the lives of all of our children have been enriched as a result of it. They will leave here better equipped for the changing world than will the children who have not had the privilege of sharing their work and play, their anger, their tears and their laughter, with children of other races.

Some of the problems that had been anticipated by those who felt integration would be a mistake have not materialized. There was concern about the neighborhood reaction, since we are located in a substantial and conservative residential area where there have never been any Negro families. We took the precaution, however, of "cultivating" the neighborhood as soon as we began the new program, since there was concern about having disturbed children in the area, and we wanted good and friendly relations with the neighbors. We tried to keep the children away from the boundary lines of the property, and did not allow them to have "nuisance value." Before and during the time we were integrating the program, we invited all neighbors—and this is a substantial number—to visit the Home and see what we were doing. The staff hand delivered invitations to an "open house," where all activities of the home were demonstrated and explained, and there was an enthusiastic response from the neighborhood. We have had no problems, and have had a friendly interest instead. We have also had offers of volunteer services from neighbors, and donations of books, toys, bicycles, etc. We do not anticipate that any difficulties will develop.

One advantage we may have had is that our children attend school within our own plant—their degree of disturbance is such that they cannot attend public school. This has nothing to do with race, obviously. However, we have not had to deal with the schools in the neighborhood. When, however, the children from the home have been discharged and have returned to schools in their neighborhoods, some of which had become racially mixed while the child was in residence at the home, there have been no problems either way.

When a Negro counselor was added to the staff, we had excellent acceptance of him. After a few days, we had the expected insult "you dirty nigger" hurled at him by a very angry child he was working with, but he had been prepared for this, and had expressed an interest in personally handling this when it would occur. He did so, with the two of them having a long talk about it when the child calmed down. As the talk continued, others joined in. One was reminded of how, when he was angry at a Filipino counselor who had been on the staff, he had called him a "dirty Jap." (Children seem to automatically add the word "dirty" when they are making a derogatory statement.) We found that the white and Negro children responded equally well to the Negro counselor, as he did to them.

We have found that integrating the program has been both successful and beneficial. It is true that we tried to leave nothing to chance. We worked at making it a success, and continue to work at keeping it that way. We feel that the advance planning and the timing were essential ingredients, but approaching it as a study in human relationships may have been even more essential.

INTEGRATION OF A CHILDREN'S HOME

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BALTIMORE CITY'S CYLBURN HOME, a division of the Department of Welfare, is a nonsectarian, nonsegregated children's home giving care to neglected and dependent boys and girls.

All children living there have been committed by the court to the care of the Department of Public Welfare. When the home was conceived, it was for white children, but before the event of the Supreme Court's decision, Miss Esther Lazarus, Director of Public Welfare for Baltimore City, had already looked beyond the immediate and had begun to think in terms of a nonsegregated institution and one that would give better care to children who were to return to the community.

In the spring of 1954 when Miss Lazarus spoke to me about the home, she told of the plan to open it to *all* children and to build a facility to accommodate and to give service to a larger number of children.

Both ideas were of interest to me, and the plan for the new buildings was most challenging. At no time did I consider the integration part of the plan as unusual or frought with difficulty. My thinking was concerned with but one thing—"children in need must have the best possible program"—not white children or Negro children; or Chinese children; just children. Cylburn should be available to any child of any race who was in need of care and who would benefit from the program. Consequently, the move toward integration began in early summer of 1954.

The first steps were casual and natural. As volunteers came to Cylburn to work with boys and girls, we all talked about the needs of the community; the needs of the home; and our plans as to building a more up-to-date institution; and the plan to accept Negro children.

At the same time, we made the change to having all staff eat together—white and Negro at the same tables at the same time. This move was not accepted by some of the white staff members who did not come to the meal but made excuses that they had unfinished work to do. In time, these persons either came around to accepting the plan or resigned, but always giving some other type of excuse as the reason for resignation.

Where only service staff had been Negro, we made changes in personnel practices by hiring the person who could best meet the need of the job offered and tried to break down the children's thinking that all house parents and office staff were white; all other staff members were in the category of servants. As schools closed for summer vacation, staff members, without concern for job or status, were assigned to head up the tables and were responsible for the group's conversation, food and table manners. The children accepted the change without question.

During the first summer, we invited staff members to bring their children to the grounds during the day rather than to have them at home unsupervised. This immediately mixed the group. This practice was to continue and at no time was it questioned. In the summer of 1956, the laundress became ill and was hospitalized. Her foster son was left alone and she asked if he could live on the grounds for the few days she was to be in the hospital. This was done, and John was made a welcome member of the boys' dormitory. On the visiting day during this period, several parents asked if we were going to continue to take in Negro children. Each person was told the reason for John's being present, and it was explained that if any staff member, whether white or Negro, needed emergency care for a child, we would certainly wish to give it; and with this opening, we always went on to explain that we were moving toward a nonsegregated home and in the near future, we would make such a move. If a parent argued or protested, he was reminded that Cylburn was a temporary home for children in need of temporary care, and if he could correct whatever had been wrong in the home from which the child was removed, he could certainly take his youngster home. Cylburn's responsibility was to be helpful when children were in need, but only until the parent was in a position to function as a parent.

It is interesting to note that at about this time, we received two boys who were part Chinese. There was no question on the part of other children's parents that these boys might not be white. Following the admission of the Chinese boys, we were asked to accept for placement a girl who had been refused by other agencies because she was quite dark skinned and might present a problem, although her birth certificate stated she was white.

In the fall of 1954 when Baltimore City very promptly mixed the schools, Cylburn was made undistricted and we were able to send the boys and girls to many schools in the city—not just in our neighborhood. This allowed the institution to choose the school which seemed most likely to be helpful to the child and made it possible, when we had changed the admission policy and began to accept Negro boys and girls, to see that school placement was a helpful and happy experience to each and every one.

One amusing incident which happened during the period of school integration and when Cylburn was still a segregated facility may help to point out the real feelings of the adolescent boys and girls.

On opening day of school, there was picketing by adults who encouraged the students to remain out of the school buildings. One of the schools called Cylburn and informed us that two of the boys had not been in class and the school was calling it an unexcused absence or truancy. When the boys came home at the proper time for having attended school, they were sent for, and when asked if they had been in school, both said, "No." To the question, "Why not?", one explained that they weren't going to the same school with "colored kids." As to the why, neither could answer other than, "Everyone says you shouldn't." They were then reminded that the law required school attendance until a child was 16, and the rule at Cylburn was either school or work 8 hours. It was suggested they think about this. As they left the office, they were told to tell their housemother they would not be having dinner with the others. Both boys whirled around, looked stunned, and then asked why not. It was explained to them that Mrs. George had cooked the meal. To their "So what?", we said, "But Mrs. George is colored." The boys shuffled about, looked rather nonplussed, and said, "But she's our *friend*." Needless to say, they attended school, made no more remarks on the subject, and before the term was over, were walking home with their classmates—both Negro and white.

There were several areas in which forthright talking was done on the subject. One was at Bible hour—the Sunday evening program which took the place of Sunday school. All boys and girls attended the church of their faith each Sunday, but not the various Sunday schools. A group of lay people—volunteers from the neighborhood churches—directed the program. Movies and slides on various aspects of Christian ethics were used, and during the time following the Supreme Court decision, many were on the subject and the lessons were geared to teach respect for all peoples.

During the week, we had evening group meetings to discuss the new institution, the kind of home it would be, and the fact that it would be integrated. It was only on the Monday following Visiting Sunday that we heard any talk against such a program. Without making an issue of the statements, we tried to lead the discussion to why one should feel all children should not have equal opportunities to good homes, schools, churches. Since the public schools had done such a splendid job, our end of the discussion was not difficult.

Now, at the same time, we were having staff meetings concerning the change in program. Staff was not as outspoken as the children and one felt, in many instances, that some members had deep feelings against integration but were holding back. The Negro staff were helpful in a very important way because they made every effort to cooperate. The office secretary was soon a bulkhead for all staff who came up against emergencies; she could help one make the decision to call a doctor, or to allow some child to take a special trip, or just listen to a problem in a pleasant way. This attitude on her part helped to quell feelings of prejudice.

In 1956, when the new buildings were on the way to completion, we decided to admit the first Negro children into Old Cylburn. This plan was made so that when we moved we would have experienced living as a mixed group. We also hired Negro houseparents so that we would have little or no publicity of the change when we moved to the new cottage type facility. Just thinking of the move was exciting to some; gave a feeling of insecurity to others, because the new cottages were frail beside the huge fieldstone house they were used to, so the admission of the Negro children did not upset the group or the program.

While this work, planning, and living were going on in the institution, a great amount of work was being done in the community. Since all churches were segregated, it was necessary to visit each we attended, explain the change in our policy, and ask if we could continue to attend when we became a mixed group. The clergy were approached first and responded in various ways. Two said "Yes" without hesitation. Another approved but said he must present the idea to his board. A fourth felt it was a real opportunity for his church to take a "living stand" on the matter of integration, but apparently his church members did not take the matter lightly for we were assured we would be welcome at the regular church service, but possibly it would be better to wait a while before allowing any of the children to attend the youth programs at the church. Another refused and also refused to allow us to speak to the church board. Despite this response, we found the church members uncertain about the plan, and we were invited to the various church groups to tell about Cylburn's plan to integrate. In doing this, we tried to express the great need of the children who lived at the home and what the church could do to help. This took infinite time because there were five churches needing help. The sixth church just quietly went its way without us.

When the day came to take the mixed group to church, the children were made to feel welcome, and because we had talked to them about their responsibility behaviorwise, all apparently went well.

It was not until sometime later that unaccepting individuals began to call Cylburn to tell me personally that having Negro children present had spoiled the service for this particular individual. Such calls were referred to the minister—no names being mentioned since no names were given—and he, in turn, would work with the problem.

About this same time, I received many middle-of-the-night calls which were disturbing and useless and very frustrating.

While working with the churches, it was necessary to approach local or neighborhood movie theaters, ice cream parlors, and places of amusement. This was very discouraging. The neighborhood movies refused to accept the mixed group although one had generously allowed the previous group of children free admission. This meant that the downtown movies must be used. The cost was much higher—$1.50 or $1.75 per show plus 50 cents busfare. The alternative was to take a large group in the carryall to the same show, and to send a driver with them. Later we found a theater within walking distance on the edge of a predominantly Negro area. The manager welcomed the group, and on special occasions when he invited public school groups to special shows, he would call us so our group could take advantage of the special price, the special program, and a well-mixed group. A church men's group also loaned us a movie machine and sent us a film and refreshments twice a month. Generous as this was, and happy as it made the group, we felt it was not the real answer and continued to encourage the young people to save their allowances to permit at least one show in town every 3 or 4 weeks.

No private recreation areas were open to us; no amusement parks; no skating rinks; no bowling alleys. Before integration, some of the youngsters had been members of the Boy and Girl Scouts. Afterwards, they showed no interest because the meetings were not available to the mixed group. We offered our recreation room for a neighborhood troop, provided it was open to all children. The offer was courteously refused.

When service groups gave the yearly treats to the underprivileged children and took them by bus on a special trip, we could not accept because only white children were welcome. We tried to anticipate these occasions and have an exciting trip of our own planned so the Cylburn group would not feel left out. This presented interesting problems because often our children had brothers and sisters in other institutions who were going on the trip and they, too, were disappointed.

We did more or less "blackmail" the program chairman who called to invite our white children by explaining we never divided the group by race or color, and it did seem sad that these children were not accepted. Usually we received a contribution large enough to furnish a bus trip to the bay or State park for a day's outing.

The daily swimming program was conducted in a public park. The zoo was nearby and was visited often by many of the children. The police department kept us supplied with unclaimed bicycles which afforded short trips to the country or places of interest nearby. The ball park was available and many attended games, sometimes as guests of service organizations and, at other times, using their own pocket money.

As an example of some of the problems we met, the following will give a picture of some of the feeling in Baltimore.

Cylburn played ball with several of the other institutions, and the mixed team had been made to feel very welcome, especially at one particular institution, and on occasion shared a bus when invited to a special ball game.

One morning, following such an excursion, the older boys and girls could hardly contain themselves and finally told a story of having been called names on the trip and stating flatly they would rather stay home than ride with that group again. Our staff said that there had been name calling but the Cylburn group had managed to control itself. This seemed too much to expect, and feeling something was wrong, I called the other institution. Its previous director had left and the new director was from another State, and, although we had met, I did not know him well. He assured me that he had been on the bus the previous night and that his group had been the name callers. He said that the Cylburn boys had not responded. I asked him how he felt about the situation, and had it been as unpleasant as I had been led to believe? Was he certain the Cylburn group had not precipitated it? In answer to the last, he said only insofar as we had sent an integrated group, and if I did not want the boys and girls to be called names, he suggested we have our own bus.

This incident shows, I'm sure, that the kind of adult leadership is important. This same group of boys and girls, when with its former director, would never have resorted to this type of thing.

About this time, the Y.W.C.A. began a very fine day camp program in one of the parks. This was an integrated group. We, in turn, were offered free camperships and asked to send only white girls. In looking into the matter, I learned that far more Negro girls had availed themselves of the program and the camp program director was concerned less it become totally Negro and thus defeat its purpose of having an integrated program. We worked out a system where we were able to send some of our girls, but always a mixed group.

The new Cylburn was ready in December of 1957, and by that time we had a well-integrated group of children and a fully integrated staff. Because of a blizzard on moving day, we found ourselves in the predicament of having the children, some food, and the extra mattresses and blankets at the new grounds, but all the children's clothing, beds, and furniture on the trucks and snowed in at the old grounds. We made shift by spreading the mattresses and sleeping three and four on each, with what blankets we had. One of the newspapers, hearing we were moving, sent a photographer to see how we had made out. When he saw where the children were to sleep, he asked if three would lie down so he could take a picture. There was a mad scramble and three girls climbed upon the mattress under the blanket. Next morning, there was the picture with both Negro and white sleeping together. No one called to protest, but maybe it was because all were busy cleaning away the snow.

As we settled into our new home and the children began to walk or ride the public transportation to school, we found neighborhood children stopping by to play or to enjoy a meal with their Cylburn friends. Neighbors were invited for tea and a tour, and in time our Saturday night parking lot dances were well attended by invited neighborhood and school friends of the boys and girls.

At dances or parties on the grounds, we found the best dancers danced together without regard to race. In volleyball or baseball games, the better players were chosen first, without thought of color; but, and this never ceased to surprise me, no Negro boy asked to date a white girl, and no white boy asked to date a Negro girl. The mores of the community were so instilled in the youngsters that despite the fact they were often nonconforming, they apparently knew mixed dating could lead to unpleasantness. Then, too, since we did not make a rule about this, there was no reason to do it, just to break rules or to defy authority.

Parents, at first critical, soon made friends with one another, gave transportation to others going their way, and at holiday entertainments and dinners sat side by side. They, too, learned to accept the situation pleasantly.

My own feeling is that the need of the child transcends any personal feeling, and in working for the good of the child, one forgets the unpleasantness and lack of understanding of the community.

The children, I am sure, did not suffer from the change. Of this I am sure and, in fact, I believe they learned much from the mixed group living.

Staff had to be on its toes to answer any persons in the community who were critical, but we all learned that after the move was made, the only criticism came from the kind of person who might be classed as uncooperative—a diehard, or a crank.

In 1958, the Baltimore Department of Public Welfare and Cylburn Home received one of the Hollander Awards for their contribution to integration. This was presented at a meeting of institutional staffs—and no children were present. The children were never shown the framed award lest they become self-conscious about the new desegregated living.

For superintendents about to make this kind of change, be assured your role in the neighborhood may be a hard one, and it will take real conviction to plan and move ahead, but the benefit to the child and his future understanding will make up for this. Only through understanding and learning in youth can this problem be alleviated.

A CENTURY OF RACIAL SEGREGATION ENDS QUIETLY IN A CHILDREN'S HOME

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IN FEBRUARY 1966, the Louisville and Jefferson County Children's Home begins its second century of service to "Lou and Jeff"—the children of Louisville and Jefferson County, Kentucky. During the first century there have been many changes in philosophy, program, physical location, name, and administration to the extent that the agency today bears little resemblance to its earlier predecessor organizations.

Yet, throughout that long period of time, there have been some consistent patterns, not the least insignificant of which has been the racial segregation of staff and children's services. With such strong traditions—from the historic 13th amendment of 1865 to the equally historic Civil Rights Act of 1964—it might be expected that change would come about only with some trauma, rebellion, and disorganization.

It is the purpose of this article to describe how integration came about calmly in a border State and in an agency with a 100-year tradition of conformity to a typical border-State pattern of racial segregation. The experiences of this agency may be of interest and aid to others who

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are now facing this process.

The Louisville and Jefferson County Children's Home is a multifunction local public child welfare agency providing residential group care, foster family care, adoptive placement, detention care, shelter care, and casework to children in their own and relatives' homes for approximately 900 children. The agency operates four institutions—Ormsby Village, Ridgewood, Children's Center, and Sunshine Lodge—and supervises more than 200 private foster family homes. Slow but steady progress has been made in the racial integration of all the agency's services, but this particular article will concentrate on changes in its two largest residential programs, Ormsby Village and Ridgewood, with only incidental references to other areas.

From 1865 until 1925, all the agency's predecessor institutions (House of Refuge, Louisville Industrial School, Parental Home and School, and Walnut Street Detention Home) had been operated on a pattern that was predominantly one of racial segregation, although there were minor exceptions.

The same pattern, again with minor exceptions, continued with the establishment of Ormsby Village in 1925 and Ridgewood in 1929 (on adjoining properties) until June 1965. Although operated under the same general administration and with similar programs, Ormsby Village was used only for white children (130) and Ridgewood only for Negro children (70). The records show that the children at Ridgewood did not receive as much attention from the staff, particularly services from the centralized professional staff, as did the children at Ormsby Village.

In analyzing this process of change it may help to identify certain key elements that characterized the period of preparation.

Formulation of policy

First, there was a clear formulation of policy, its adoption by the Children's Home Board and administration, and its announcement and interpretation to the staff and to the community. This policy had four aspects:

- In the years immediately following the 1954 Supreme Court decision on "separate but equal" facilities, there was an acceptance by the agency that, regardless of personal feelings and beliefs, the decision represented not only an authoritative opinion but an unequivocal directive to all social institutions to prepare for basic, even radical, changes in the social structure, particularly as it applied to education. It was obvious that the Children's Home, at least in its institution schools if not elsewhere, would eventually have to achieve racial integration. Consequently, there was no attempt to evade or negate this conclusion, although there may have been what, in retrospect, seems to have been some unnecessary delay.

- In 1956, the board formally adopted the policy that the agency would keep pace with, though not necessarily pioneer in, community developments in the area of racial integration. Although this may sound negative, it should be recognized that the statutory purpose of the Children's Home is to serve children rather than to further racial integration or segregation per se.

- Early in 1963 it was proposed by the executive director and accepted by the board that official agency policy be broadened to include the concept that, although the statutory purpose of the agency is not to advance the cause of racial integration, if better service to children could be achieved through racial integration of staff, children's programs, or physical facilities, then there would be a clear moral and ethical (if not legal) obligation to take steps toward that end.

- After these three steps in policy formulation were taken, it was made clear to all staff at all working levels that once official

> agency decisions had been made on specific steps to be taken, no staff member would be allowed to block, delay, or sabotage those steps.

Concurrent with the later stages of policy formulation, certain significant changes occurred in the pattern of racial segregation. The Ormsby Village Hospital had served both white and Negro children since its completion in 1939.[1] The senior high school at Ormsby Village (10th, 11th, and 12th grades) was integrated in 1956, with children in those grades being transported from Ridgewood by bus. All grade levels in the Ormsby Village school were integrated in September 1963.

Sunshine Lodge, the agency's shelter-care facility, was integrated in the spring of 1963. The Children's Center, the county's detention program operated by the agency, was fully integrated during 1964. The diagnostic-treatment cottage for boys on the Ormsby Village campus was integrated during 1962, and the boys' intake cottage on the Ormsby Village campus, during 1964. The services of psychiatry, psychology, religion, and recreation were all modified to provide some measure of integration during this period. All of these changes, important as they were, left seven children's cottages at Ormsby Village and four at Ridgewood still segregated.

Followup study

Following the period of policy formulation and the changes already described (occurring between 1954 and 1963), the board directed the administration to make a study and to prepare recommendations on the additional changes that would be required for implementation of established integration policy. Over a period of several months, three different staff groups worked on this study. One group consisted of the executive director and the department heads responsible directly to him; the second and third groups consisted of representatives of all agency departments and divisions, including workers of both races at all administrative levels. The second group was to study and make recommendations for the integration of children's services; the third, for the integration of staff services. The first group consisted of 10 persons, the second and third groups of about 15 each (thus totaling about 40, or approximately 20 percent of the agency's staff).

Results of study

It quickly became apparent to all three groups that the plans considered for moral, philosophical, religious, or legal reasons could not be separated from their practical and economic aspects; any change in regard to race would have to affect either the quality or the quantity of service to one or both groups of children. Although in the early stages there were some who felt that one or both groups of children might be hurt in certain respects, these fears were later proved groundless.

During the work of these three staff groups, the members of the groups who carried administrative and supervisory responsibilities as a part of their regular duties began to realize that sound administrative philosophy and principles required substantial reorganization and integration of the administrative structure in order to accomplish racial integration; conversely, racial integration required these administrative and structural changes.

Developments contributing to change

Fortunately, and coincidentally, two related developments facilitated these changes. For some time,[2] the administrative staff had been considering making certain administrative changes at Ormsby Village and Ridgewood in order to merge and equalize their services more completely. The proposed reorganization of the two institutions' administrative structures was then presented in an outline involving four steps, or stages. The first three steps involved racial as well as administrative integration; these steps were completed by the summer of 1965. The reorganizational plan provided for two different kinds of children's programs, one on each campus, differentiated by the nature of the children's needs and problems and of the services designed specifically for each group rather than by race.

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[1] The exact time when both white and Negro children occupied beds in the same open ward is not entirely clear, but this probably occurred sometime during the 1940's.

[2] The agency's director of institutions, Mr. Helmut E. Tammelaid (now executive director, Elmcrest Children's Center,

The second fortuitous development was a turnover in staff that made it easy to abolish one position, reclassify another, and place available qualified staff members in remaining vacancies through transfer and promotion.

These advances in knowledge and understanding of the situation (and how to deal with it) and the resultant administrative changes, important as they were, were probably not as significant as the constructive emotional response of staff due to this full involvement. The positive approach of the board and administration, and the offering of adequate opportunity to staff of all gradations of opinion to work as partners in bringing about necessary changes, created an atmosphere in which there could be ventilation of positive and negative ideas and attitudes.

Personal feelings of the staff

Many of those participating in the group discussions at first had feelings of discomfort and strangeness in attempting to discuss openly their ideas and opinions in a racially mixed group. And some of us, who had considered ourselves relatively free from racial prejudice, discovered personal blind spots that could not be erased by scientific evidence as we faced some of the issues involved. But, some of the staff who participated in these group discussions and who had previously been quite prejudiced about racial matters were able to change enough to remain on as employees in an integrated program (otherwise, they would have had to be replaced). Staff not directly involved in these group meetings had other opportunities to participate. For example, each child care worker had an opportunity to ask questions and make suggestions in both group and individual supervisory conferences.

Only one worker made a personal decision to leave the program because of feelings about race. No workers were discharged involuntarily for this reason. Two transfers of staff, at their request, allowed workers to move to positions in the agency in which they would not be in direct daily contact with children of another race. In this way, they were able to remain in agency employment in a useful capacity without having their feelings about race—which they recognized and the agency accepted—interfering with their jobs.

Throughout this process, every attempt was made to have staff clearly understand that we were not attempting to exert "thought control"; they were free to feel and think as they wished on this subject, but they could not allow their feelings and thoughts to interfere with their job of serving children. This nonpunitive attitude toward dissent—combined with a firm position on "parting company" if necessary—and planning well in advance of all deadlines for change allowed all staff members to find their places either in or outside of the new constellation of services. Sudden crises, harsh reactions, or arbitrary actions (with their inevitably damaging effects on the children under care) were avoided.

No mention has yet been made of efforts to prepare the children for integration of their cottage living situation; and, in fact, this point came up many times in staff discussions.

Syracuse, N.Y.), and his department heads had prepared a detailed (98-page) study: *Proposed Reorganizational Plan for Ormsby Village and Ridgewood.* This study presented the philosophical and theoretical basis for the plan (1) by outlining the results of a study of children's services in Kentucky and its bordering states and (2) by reviewing recent professional literature describing the movement in the direction of a treatment orientation of many institutions serving delinquent children.

It is a part of the agency's philosophy that the children join in planning any changes that might vitally affect their lives in group care. Although many of the staff thought that plans for racial integration should not be made an exception to this philosophy, the majority thought that participation of the children could be positive and meaningful only in situations in which real alternatives existed and where the children's level of knowledge, experience, maturity, and sense of responsibility were adequate. It was felt by the majority of staff that this was not such a situation. No real alternative to full racial integration existed; moreover, the previous training and experience of the particular children under care were undoubtedly such as to inhibit the possibility of their making sound judgments in their area, and their participation and discussion in the planning might be expected to precipitate, rather than prevent, anxiety and conflict.

Plans, therefore, were kept secret from the children as long as the institution grapevine would allow—which was not long. When rumors began to circulate among the children, factual announcements were promptly made. Fortunately, the timespan from planning to rumor, announcement, and actual change was short.

Completing the integration

From 1963 until 1965 there were several developments on the local, regional, and national scenes. The rapid progress in Louisville and Jefferson County (brought about by the Louisville Human Relations Commission and the city and county administrations) and the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 made it necessary to accelerate the agency's timetable for change.

For this reason, the executive recommended to the board that the board delegate full authority to the administration and staff to proceed with steps toward full racial integration. This recommendation was approved, and action was taken in March 1965. Because of the careful groundwork that had been laid previously, it was possible to move quickly during the next three months.

The most critical move—and, therefore, the one requiring the most careful and detailed planning—appeared to be the integration of the remaining children's cottages. During the latter part of April and the month of May 1965, the child care teams (consisting basically of the social worker, the child care worker, their respective supervisors, and additional professional and child care staff where possible and desirable) completed an intensive case review of the total populations of both institutions. Decisions were made as to which children would be returned to the community at the end of the school year; for those children who would remain in residential group care, decisions were then made about which children would be placed on the Ormsby Village campus and which on the Ridgewood campus. Decisions were based on the principle of matching program to the needs of each rather than on the basis of race.[3] Finally, decisions were made about actual cottage assignments, which were not revealed to the children until later.

The change was deliberately planned for the period of lowest population, the middle of June; and the children's annual vacation period, usually scheduled during the month of August, was changed to coincide. At this time, most of the necessary physical changes and related activities were carried out, including the moving of personal furniture and other staff possessions to new cottage assignments and the swapping of basic cottage furniture and supplies when a particular cottage was being changed from one sex or age group to another.

When the children returned from vacation to their "old" cottages, they were received by their former child care worker. A social worker, a supervisor of group care, or another professional staff member was also in the cottage to assist the child care worker with explanations, to announce cottage assignments, and to relieve the children's concerns about the move.

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[3] In general terms, the Ormsby Village program was planned to meet the needs of the older, more aggressive, sophisticated, acting-out delinquent or predelinquent child; the Ridgewood program was planned primarily for the younger, less mature, more passive type of child.

After a period of group discussion and, where necessary, individual conferences, the children leaving the cottage gathered up their personal belongings and were taken to their new cottage to be introduced to their new child care worker and oriented to a new living situation. All available professional and child care personnel were present in the cottages and on the grounds during movement from one cottage to another. As soon as the physical transfers had taken place, the children were immediately involved in a scheduled program of educational, vocational, and recreational activities that so fully occupied their time and their interests that there was little need or opportunity to dwell on what had just occurred or to become agitated about it.

Evaluation

By July 1, 1965, an evaluation of the agency in regard to racial integration showed substantial accomplishment in all major areas, including the following:

- White and Negro children were living together in all children's living units in all agency residential group-care facilities.
- White and Negro children were studying together in all classes in all institution schools operated by the agency or operated for the agency by the Jefferson County Board of Education.
- One or more white children were on the caseloads of all Negro social workers.
- Employment was based on qualifications of education and experience in all departments and divisions of the agency.
- One or more Negro employees were at all agency supervisory and administrative levels (excepting the executive position).

During the summer of 1965, as administrative and supervisory staff discussed and reviewed the changes that had occurred in the preceding months, it was interesting to note the frequent expressions of anticlimax, even disappointment. Suspense and anticipation had been built up in spite of all measures taken to reduce these feelings; then, when "nothing happened," there was not only relief but surprise. It is true that there were a few minor incidents that loomed large in the minds of individual staff members who, because of their ingrained prejudices, were unable to be objective. There were also temporary effects on some of the severely disturbed children who might be expected to overreact to any situation producing tension or conflict. In general, however, the preoccupations and anxieties of both children and staff that occurred concurrent with racial integration were not related specifically to race but to such commonplace matters as personal attachment to a particular room, a piece of furniture, or a flower garden; the change from one living arrangement, eating place, or office to another; the reassignment from one administrative unit to another; the decrease or increase in size of caseloads; etc.

This account of profound change constructively accomplished is not meant to convey the idea that there were no problems or that there are no areas in the agency where further progress is needed; but it is felt that—because of the broad difference in types of agencies, organizational structures, physical facilities, and local customs and patterns—a recounting of these specific minor incidents and problems, and the ways in which they were handled, would ***not*** be of great benefit to the majority of board and staff members of children's homes across the country.

The purpose of this article is to assure other agencies that a positive, constructive approach; clear formulation, announcement, and interpretation of policy; the active involvement of staff; and a focus on concern for providing the best possible service to children can do much to allay fears and anxieties, erase prejudice, and promote peaceful change.

MOVING INTO INTEGRATION AT THE CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA, FLORENCE CRITTENTON HOME

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THE CHARLOTTE FLORENCE CRITTENTON HOME had offered services to the expectant unwed Negro mother for some years, although these services did not include residential services within the maternity home. In general, these services included payment of foster home care if this was needed, and meeting hospital or other expenses that might occur. Because of distances involved, the home was dependent upon whatever cooperative arrangements could be made with an agency in the girl's home community. Unfortunately, due to many factors, few Negro girls benefited from this offer of service.

Early in 1963, the executive director of the home felt the board of directors and staff needed to reexamine the home's established policy of meeting the expectant unwed Negro mother's need. In reality, the home was far from meeting maternity needs of the Negro girl. The issue was first brought before staff for discussion. Staff responded enthusiastically and were 100 percent in favor of moving into residential integration. Problems anticipated did not seem insurmountable. True, there were intense feelings about the issue from residents coming from certain areas of North Carolina as well as some of the residents from other Southern States. But with group discussions and casework counseling, the staff was confident the difficulties could be overcome. It was believed, however, that in bringing the first Negro girls into residence, that special thought should be given to screening the applicant. Personality, appearance, and other favorable attributes needed to be weighed in light of favorable group acceptance. Important, too, would be the applicant's ability to adjust in this new experience. It was hoped, in moving into integration, that at least two Negro girls might be admitted at the same time. It was known this would be difficult to arrange since the home at this time had almost no requests for services from Negro girls or from agencies requesting such services. Staff was wholeheartedly in favor of meeting the challenge faced in integration.

The real test rested in presenting the issue to the board of directors who, of course, would have the final say. It was in the approach to the board of directors that we ran into rough waters. Indeed, the first attempt to bring the question before the board was a complete flop. The president of the board of directors believed that appointing two members of the board with opposing views on integration to head up a study committee would be a fair approach to the question. The result, however, was a split in the board with threats of resignations. With this reaction, it was believed that it was in the best interest of the agency to let the issue of integration ride for a period.

At this point, it would seem appropriate to present the somewhat unique structure of the Charlotte Florence Crittenton Home Boards. The Charlotte Florence Crittenton Home has had two boards since its incorporation 63 years ago. Sixty-three years ago, a group of men turned the management of the home over to a group of women. The group of women became the board of directors with all the responsibilities "directors" implies. The men were titled the board of trustees. Over the years, the bond originally established between these two boards has continued to have a strong foothold in the foundation structure of the agency. The board of directors, composed of 53 women, retain the position of managers and policymakers, while the board of trustees, with a membership of 39 men, serve as advisors to the board of directors. The trustees are consulted largely on property matters, investments, building, etc. Both boards consist of membership from many areas in the State of North Carolina. The board of directors must, because of committee responsibility, have a majority of members from the Charlotte area. However, all members of both boards are kept well informed and knowledgeable through adopted procedures. Practically all incoming members of both boards attend a full-day orientation meeting followed by attendance at the annual meeting the succeeding day. All members of both boards receive copies of the minutes of the monthly meeting of the board of directors, as well as a monthly letter from the executive director informing members of the activities in the home, human interest stories, new needs or objectives, etc.

Each member of both boards holds membership in the Florence Crittenton Association of America and receives all literature from this resource on national movement. It is necessary to interpret this unique board structure in order to present the complexities that one could encounter in any attempt to move into integration in the agency. The handicaps of distance were minimized through joint efforts already established to keep all board members in tune with feelings and philosophy within the home. This effort paid off when desegregation was finally approved later in 1963. Not one voice of opposition was expressed by absentee members in spite of their inability to participate in arriving at the final decision.

It was not until August 1963 that the question of integration was brought up again. In the intervening months, there was plenty of opportunity for emotional reactions to subside and thought to be given to new approaches. Presentation of the issue to a large group had failed. Although all board members had a kindly and sympathetic attitude toward the problem of the expectant unwed Negro girl, resistance to change to an integrated maternity home was as firm as the Rock of Gibraltar. The old adage of "You can lead a horse to water but you can't make him drink" proved applicable in this situation. Thus the president of the board and the director charted a course that was based on a more democratic approach to the problem.

A meeting of the executive committee of the board of directors was called to consider ways and means to bring the issue of integration out of the closet again. This initiated a thorough discussion of the questions by this group. From the gains made in this smaller group discussion, it was recognized that feelings needed to be dealt with. There could be no movement until those responsible for the program and policies in the maternity home had an opportunity to examine their feelings in small groups where more discussion would be possible. The executive committee members voted individually in favor of moving into integration, and each member volunteered to serve as a resource person to meet with another small group of board members. Board members available in August were scheduled to meet in five different groups during the month. Insofar as possible, the smaller groups were composed of those known to be opposed and those in favor of integration. In all five groups, there was complete freedom of discussion. Fears, concerns, and questions were fully explored. When it was believed each group was ready to arrive at a decision, each member was asked individually for her vote. There was no "I move" and no "I second the motion" to railroad through a decision. To the amazement of those who charted the course, there was not a single negative vote in any of the five group meetings held. In the fifth group, two representatives from the board of trustees were present.

At the September 1963 meeting of the board of directors, a spokesman, selected from one of the groups, presented to the total board the details and action of the summer discussion groups. There were board members who had not participated in the August discussions since they were not available. Again, all board members were called upon individually to cast their vote. The decision to desegregate was unanimous.

This did not end the task ahead. There were still the residents who, up to this time, had had no voice in the issue. After the board approval, it did not take long for a social agency to approach the home and request maternity home care for a Negro girl. The applicant met the criteria in every way for the first admission. It was agreed as soon as we definitely knew the girl would be coming to the home, that the director would call a special meeting with the residents in the home to deal with their feelings about integration. Unfortunately, the referral agency had advised the Negro girl she could just go to the maternity home and be admitted immediately. One afternoon, the girl arrived unexpectedly about 3 o'clock with her bag and baggage. No meeting had yet been held with the residents since admission had not been finalized. It was decided that advising the girl to return on a scheduled admission date was not the answer and could only be interpreted as rejection by her. The girl was a mature college graduate and it was felt the best way of meeting this problem was to share with her our incompleted preparation for integration as far as the residents were concerned. The girl knew that she was the first Negro to be admitted and was aware that she might face problems. She had felt she was strong enough to face these. She readily agreed to wait in the reception room while the director called an emergency meeting of the residents.

The director advised the residents that a Negro girl was waiting in the reception room and shared with them the reason for the emergency meeting. Then she went on to explain that she would not bring any girl, white or Negro, into the home if she thought she would be hurt by other girls. If the Negro girl was to be admitted, the director wanted to be assured that the girls would do all they could to help her. Sharing in table assignments, chores, and activities were discussed. After the points were brought out that the director wanted the girls to consider, she asked that the girls be honest about their feelings and say how they felt.

Girl after girl brought out that the Negro girl needed help just as she did, and each thought the girl should be admitted. The girls were not called upon to vote as board members were, as this was not their prerogative. However, it was important to face and deal with negative feelings. There were none. Instead, the residents turned their discussion to ways in which they might be helpful to the Negro girl. They asked about places where they might ask her to accompany them, etc. Then came the problem of room assignment. It was the director's feeling the Negro girl might be more comfortable in a room alone until another Negro girl was admitted. This meant a move on the part of two girls, and the director proceeded to apologize to these girls for asking them to move. It was known they loved this particular room. The apology was no more than made when a resident spoke up and said there was an empty bed in her room and she would like to have the girl move into her room. Her roommate concurred, and this was agreed upon if the Negro girl also wished this. It was exactly what the Negro girl wanted since she was used to sharing a room and preferred living with someone else. When one girl from the eastern part of the State who had been out shopping during the meeting returned, she attempted to stir up rejection of the Negro girl among other residents. There was not even a small ripple in the pool. She quickly saw that if she were to continue to be accepted by the group, she had to go along with them.

As the Negro girl moved along into residency, there was not a single problem. She was accepted and respected by the group. She was elected to head one of the residents' committees by almost a unanimous vote. The Negro girl made an excellent adjustment. She more than eased the way for future Negro admissions. When it came time for this girl to leave, we asked her for suggestions that might be helpful to us in planning for care of future Negro girls. Unfortunately, during her period of residence, we did not have a request for admission of another Negro girl until it was about time for the first to leave. Our first Negro resident had only praise for other residents and the acceptance she felt by board, staff, and girls. She would have liked to have had companionship of one of her own race had this been possible. She thought, as more Negro girls were admitted, we might want to consider Negro girls sharing rooms. She was not unhappy in her room assignment, but she felt she would have been more comfortable in "pressing" her hair if she were sharing a room with another Negro. She also felt the home might need to give consideration to locating a beauty parlor where Negro residents might go. Horrors! How could a board and staff made up of females overlook the importance of hair grooming?

Our first Negro resident came to us on October 1, 1963. Since then, we have accepted all Negro applicants who qualified for admission. Negro girls do have a problem in securing adoption services from adoption agencies due to the lack of adoptive Negro homes. At the Charlotte Florence Crittenton Home, the board, staff, and residents alike have positive feelings about our integration. We have even moved a step in bringing in the alleged Negro father for counseling. The director also had an opportunity to appear in defense of this alleged father at a discipline committee of one of the local Negro colleges. Our Negro expectant unwed mothers are no different with their problems than the expectant unwed white mother. Two Negro girls have been elected to serve as president of the resident's organization. This position is considered a real honor. Several other Negro residents have been elected to other offices and served on important committees. Two have served on "council," a group made up of equal representation of board, staff, and residents. The "council" meets bimonthly in one of the board members' homes. It is a top honor to serve on council since this representative body reviews matters that residents, staff, or board want discussed. In a democratic manner, issues are settled in this body. The opening of council with the hostess serving refreshments adds to the pleasure of those who still believe you eat for two. The atmosphere of council also serves as a testing ground for all girls of their acceptance in the community.

Only on one occasion was the smooth sailing of desegregation in the Charlotte home threatened. Two girls came to the executive director asking to be excused from their responsibilities as Big Sisters. One of these was scheduled to serve as the Big Sister to a Negro girl being admitted that afternoon. When asked why she wanted to be excused, she readily brought out that she no longer felt she wanted to associate with a Negro. The director was aware that both girls were very friendly and accepting of more than one Negro girl in the home. As their feelings were examined, they gradually recognized what they were doing. They were placing the feelings they had about one Negro girl on the entire race. When they were allowed to talk about what this particular Negro girl did that made them feel that way, they could see that what they really did not like was the particular girl's personality. They also could say that they guessed they wouldn't like a white girl either if she presented these same personality problems. They understood that a director of a home could not let race become an issue in administering maternity home services. These two girls had already, by their own admission, discussed their feelings with other girls and had drawn some into their own web of confusion. They responded to the director's appeal to interpret to the other girls their new understanding of things. Thus what could have moved into major proportions was nipped in the bud.

In conclusion, it might be said that once desegregation is accomplished in a maternity home, the problems encountered are no different from those in a segregated home. The internal resources at our command should not be exhausted over the questions of desegregation. This should be an accepted responsibility of any social agency charged with promoting the welfare of the citizens of a total community. Our energies need to be directed toward prevention when needed. To neglect the expectant unwed mother and her unplanned-for baby means possible damage to over one-half million future citizens of our country annually at the current rate of out-of-wedlock births. Can we afford this cost in our country with all its wealth?

THE PROCESS OF DESEGREGATION AT THE AUSTIN STATE SCHOOL

DR. PHILIP ROOS

Superintendent, Austin State School, Austin, Texas

THE AUSTIN STATE SCHOOL is a public State residential school for mentally retarded children and adults. It has over 1,000 students under the age of 21, and it provides them with diagnostic services, residential care, and vocational training.

The school is located near an upper income residential area. Many children are allowed to go into the local shopping center unescorted. However, most of the daily activity and educational and vocational programs are on the institution's campus.

Before desegregation

The Austin State School includes two campuses, and on each of these campuses both white and Negro dormitories were located.

Before the transfer between dorms, white and Negro children used their own dining rooms, kitchens, and recreation areas. There was some mixing in certain of the academic classrooms. This arrangement was, in part at least, due to the fact that our dining rooms and kitchens are located in the individual dormitories.

Negro staff were employed in white dormitories and vice versa before the transfer.

Administrative role

Integration began just a few weeks after I became superintendent at Austin State School. I approached the situation by visiting dormitories and encouraging attendants to discuss problems with me. Attendants on dormitories housing Negro students soon began to express marked concern with the heterogeneity of their population, and the resulting difficulty in programing. The attendants themselves indicated a desire to group their residents into more homogeneous categories. I based my judgments on these comments in recommending to the staff transfers of students so as to place them in units better suited to their capacities and age level. The matter of "integration" received no specific focus, but rather we were all concerned with improving the grouping of our residents.

The transfers occurred uneventfully. Perhaps the matter was facilitated by the fact that our employees had been "integrated" for a long period of time. Occasionally, a staff member would question the suitability of transferring a Negro student to one of our "high level" dormitories, but I would always respond in terms of the specific student's adaptive behavior level, age characteristics, and other criteria used to determine the placement.

The only concrete "problem" that arose was in terms of a specific parent becoming quite "upset" when he found that his adolescent boy was housed in a dormitory that included Negroes. This father removed his boy from our school and claimed the boy had been beaten and had received a broken jaw as a result. The father phoned me late at night and criticized me bitterly and crudely for integrating the facility. Later, the father contacted one of the reporters on one of the Houston newspapers, and you might recall that an "investigation" ensued. Although there was some negative publicity in the paper, in general, I felt the institution suffered no ill effects. Interestingly

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Excerpts from two letters written by Dr. Philip Roos.

enough, the father later returned the boy to the institution and made no further complaint. Perhaps a year later, the boy claimed he had been bitten by a dog while at home, but our investigation revealed this had not been the case. It seems quite possible, therefore, that the boy had fabricated the fight incident to account for the jaw injury.

I can recall no other difficulties arising from rearrangement of our resident population. A number of attendants and other staff members indicated that programing had been made materially easier by the transfers, and that they were quite pleased with the change.

I feel rather strongly that the facility with which "integration" occurred in our institution is a reflection of the matter of fact way in which we approached the situation. I cannot help but feel that significant "difficulties" would have occurred had the administration approached the situation with obvious misgivings and caution.

Our "integration" occurred so uneventfully as to be almost unnoticeable to the majority of the staff.

There is no segregation of staff at this time in any facet of our program. There is complete sharing of dining, recreational, and housing facilities.

Details of dormitory transfers

Prior to integration of our children's residential dormitories, Negro students were housed in three segregated dorms: One dormitory had 60 male educable and trainable students, ages 6 to 20; another dormitory housed 90 female students of all ages and levels but primarily young, severely retarded; a third dormitory had 90 male students, level 1 and 2 young boys and adults of all levels.

Small numbers of Negro youngsters were moved to white dormitories over a 4-week period. Then, small numbers of white youngsters were moved into the Negro dormitories over a period of 3 months.

From this time on, transfers were handled just as routine moves. As far as I know, all transfers were handled by the Cottage Life Department. In some cases, the supervisors talked to the students before they were transferred.

Reaction from this integration was so small, it was not noticeable.

RACIAL INTEGRATION OF A CHILD CARE INSTITUTION

CLAYTON E. NORDSTROM

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THE RACIAL INTEGRATION of a child welfare institution that has traditionally excluded Negro children from its services is a process that involves many stumbling blocks to achievement in the form of recognized and unrecognized individual, group, and community prejudices. These are prejudices that affect the decisions of the board of directors, staff, and administrator in the development of services, and they must be able to deal with their feelings to overcome the hostilities and fears of a community that is not ready for integration to take place within its boundaries. This paper reviews the experience of the Methodist Children's Home Society in Redford Township, a suburb of Detroit, Mich., in the extension of its services to Negro families and individuals. The agency serves the State of Michigan, but the majority of its clients come from the Metropolitan Detroit area.

The Methodist Children's Home Society provides services to unmarried parents, adoption services, foster family care services, and residential group care services to children with emotional and social problems. Established in 1917, the society has long enjoyed a reputation for providing a high quality of services to its clients. Since 1929, the agency's offices and institution, known as Children's Village, have been located in Redford Township, an all white, middle class community.

The population of the township in 1960 was about 72,000 persons. As there were no Negro families living in the community, there were no Negro children in the public schools until Negro children were admitted to Children's Village for care.

When the present administrator came to the Methodist Children's Home Society in the latter part of 1955, he was concerned about the fact that the agency excluded Negro families from all of its services. He felt that a social welfare agency, especially a church related program, had an obligation to serve anyone who could benefit from its services and that race should not be a factor in determining eligibility for service. Since the agency did not have a written policy specifically excluding Negroes from agency services, it would have been a rather simple decision for the administrator to make to instruct his staff to accept applications from all racial groups. After considering this approach to the situation, the administrator decided that tradition in the agency and prejudice within the community were important factors that could interfere with successful extension of services to all races without thorough discussion and approval by his board of directors of this change in intake policies. He proceeded, therefore, to introduce the subject at meetings of various committees of the agency. A recommendation made by the Child Welfare League of America in January 1957, in a report of a study of the society, gave a strong impetus to the board of directors to determine if the agency should change its policies. A year later, after study by various board committees, the Methodist Children's Home Society formally adopted a new intake policy extending its services to all racial groups.

The actual process in bringing about this change in agency policy was not as simple as it sounds. In April 1956, the executive director recommended that the Village Administration Committee, a board committee which has specific responsibility for the institutional program, review the intake policy of the agency with a view of serving Negro children. Discussion of past events brought out the fact that two Negro teenage girls had been admitted to care in 1952 but had faced so much discrimination in the public school that their withdrawal became necessary. In 1954, the public relations committee decided that it would not be possible at that time to admit Negro children to Children's Village due to the "closed," all white nature of the township community and schools. In the 1956 meetings, the Village Administration Committee concluded that the Society, as a Methodist child welfare agency, had a responsibility to educate the community to the urgent need for institutional care of Negro children and that sooner or later the agency must face up to its responsibilities and admit Negro children in spite of community pressures. The juvenile court judge was, at that time, criticizing the Protestant agencies for not serving Negro children, and the United Community Services was recommending integration of services. Yet the committee could not decide to recommend a change in intake policies. Thus, we find that the agency faced a dilemma.

The staff and administration of the Methodist Children's Home Society were consciously feeling a compelling desire to implement, in the child welfare services they offered, a value configuration which they held dear and which they felt was valid and important in American society—the value configuration of democracy, equality, freedom, and the worth of individual personality. The agency wanted to express its wholehearted belief in these values in a realistic way by opening its group care program to Negro children, thus demonstrating to the community that whites should not be considered superior to Negroes, but rather that all men are equal.

But the reality of the social stratification implied in the closed, all white nature of the community forced the agency to approach its task with kid gloves. In 1954 and 1956 committees of the board of directors concluded that in view of the closed nature of the community, it would not be possible to have Negro children admitted to Children's Village and send them into the public school program. Thus, the stark reality of social stratification as it existed in the mind of the community caused the agency to postpone the implementation of its goal and to rationalize the postponement.

In this situation it would seem that it was the community of Redford Township that was standing alone and that its feelings should not have deterred the agency in making a decision. Yet the fact that the agency—even when backed by the juvenile court, the United Community Services, the Child Welfare League of America, and the Methodist Church—continued to vacillate, with the lame rationalization that "sooner or later it must face up to this question" was evidence that the community of Redford Township was still stronger than all these wider, more impressive forces. A member of the Village Administration Committee expressed this conclusion with the words that "even the moral leadership of the church is made ineffective by the feelings of the immediate community." Such was the power of tradition and prejudice when held by a well-knit social group. It is suspected, however, that unrecognized fears and prejudices of staff, administration, committee and board members may have also interfered with a decision to extend services to Negroes in spite of anticipated community reactions.

Nevertheless, the agency did not withdraw from its goal—to serve all racial groups—but moved cautiously and slowly to implement a goal which it felt morally bound to achieve. (1)

In February 1957, a month after the Child Welfare League of America's study report of the Society was received, the agency's executive committee directed the Social Service Committee (responsible for all social services) to make a comprehensive review of the agency's intake policy at the earliest possible date. The administrator also asked the Village Administration Committee and the Public Relations Committee to participate in the review.

During the next few months, the executive director and casework staff prepared and presented material regarding the agency's intake policy to the committees, each of which met two or three times before meeting jointly. Committee discussions focused mainly on the problems Negro children would face in the public schools and community, the affect on community-agency relationships, the method of preparing the community for the introduction of Negro children in the schools, and how the moral leadership of the community's churches could be involved in the integration process. The executive director reported at meetings of each of the committees that the juvenile court judge had been severely criticizing the Protestant welfare agencies because they did not serve Negro children, thereby adding extra "fuel to the fire."

Reactions of the community

It was decided that it would not be advisable to discuss the proposed change in the intake policy with community groups, other than the public schools, because such an approach could create more problems than if the change was made quietly. It was felt that the agency did not want to be misunderstood by community groups who might think that their approval was being requested. Public school personnel felt that the schools themselves would not present problems as principals, teachers, and students would welcome Negro children. They did feel, however, that there would be objections made by parents of white children in the schools. The staff, administrator, and committee members felt that a strong, objective, and positive approach would solve problems that would arise in agency-community relationships, with the administrator to have the major task of dealing with these problems. In a joint meeting, the committees approved a report prepared by the Social Service Committee and in January 1958, the executive committee and board of directors approved the extension of all services of the Society to persons of any race.

It was nearly a year after the agency changed its intake policies that the first Negro child was admitted to Children's Village. The public school principals, the superintendent, and the school board were aware of the change in the agency's intake policies as soon as it was made and were informed that the child would be admitted to Children's Village a few days before she was to be enrolled in school. On the evening of the same day the school was notified that the child was coming, a strong reaction came from groups and individuals in the community. School board members, the superintendent, the school principal, and the agency executive received a series of protests that continued to come for about 3 weeks. None of the protests were in the nature of threats toward the agency but were expressions of fear that the community itself would become integrated and of dislikes of having "their children go to school with Negro children."

The officers of two civic improvement associations called on the executive director and all had similar questions to ask—questions which they felt must be answered to their associations. These questions included: (1) Why did the agency decide to take Negro children? (2) Why can't the Negro children go to Negro institutions? (3) How long would they stay? (4) Would their parents want to move to Redford Township to be near the children? (5) How long would the children stay, and how many would be in care at the same time? These questions were answered factually and fully, and the executive director felt that the groups were satisfied and left better informed about the agency's services. He had noted that the officers of these associations did not come in anger, and had in fact seemed somewhat embarrassed and apologetic that they would appear to be prejudiced. Their greatest concern seemed to be with the community's fears that property values would go down if the families of the Negro children would move into the Township also. No further communications related to the Negro clients were received by the agency from these associations.

Protests from individuals within the community were quite numerous during the first 3-week period. Their protests could be summarized into two concerns: (1) Would property values go down?; and (2) Would our agency expect their children to socialize with the Negro children? One individual stated quite frankly: "I don't want my children to go to school with Negro children because they will find that Negro children are all right and I won't be able to teach them to be prejudiced."

In the years that have followed this first Negro child, the community has reacted favorably, and many parents have expressed their satisfactions in having their children have the opportunity to know Negro children. There are, of course, people who object to the situation but not openly. The only recent protests made to the agency occurred when a Negro boy took a white girl home after a school party. Otherwise, the Negro children have often been welcomed as visitors in the homes of schoolmates.

Reactions of the churches

When it became known to the clergy in the community that individuals and groups were protesting the arrival of a Negro child, several ministers telephoned or wrote letters offering their help to the agency should it be needed. There were also a few other individuals who telephoned to tell the administrator that the agency was doing the right thing. Two families in the local Methodist church, however, transferred to a more distant church because they did not want a close relationship with Children's Village. For several years, the agency enjoyed a close working relationship with the local Methodist church and the youth of the church and of the Village participated in a joint youth fellowship. In recent months, however, several parents of children in the church threatened to withdraw their church memberships and support if Negro children continued to attend the youth fellowship program. This action was, in part, triggered by the attendance of five Negro boys from another community. Our agency was forced to sever its relationship with the local church. But such is the influence of prejudice.

Cooperation of schools is important

Without a doubt, the excellent cooperation of the public schools—from the teachers to the school board—was a major factor in the successful introduction of Negro children into the community. The schools accepted the Negro children matter-of-factly, positively, and with a desire to educate these children as well as they would any other children in the community. School personnel dealt with and reassured the worried parents who wondered if Negro children would bring an unknown harmful element into the schools. Although one or two teachers have not been able to handle their own prejudices in working with the Negro children, the children have been able to handle their reactions to these teachers appropriately and effectively. The biggest problem—if it can be considered as such—is the tendency for teachers and principals to want to do too much to make the Negro children feel accepted and to give them responsibilities they are not ready to assume.

The students in the public schools, in general, have been very accepting and friendly with the Negro children. On the day the first Negro child entered junior high school, two students immediately offered to share their lockers with her. Fortunately, none of the Negro children manifested severe behavior problems in school but were likeable and talented in ways that quickly brought them many friends. Their personality problems were severe, but not serious blocks to school adjustment.

There have been some white students in the junior and senior high schools who have attempted to abuse the Negro students through derogatory remarks and jostling in the hallways. The Negro students were helped by their caseworkers and school counselors to handle their own feelings and reactions to these incidents. One Negro student felt too much alone, however, when there were only two Negroes in her school and her unhappiness led to her return to her own home.

Involvement of staff

The experiences of the Methodist Children's Home Society indicate that racial integration of staff is important to successful extension of services to all races. Until 1957, the agency did not employ any Negro staff except for occasional part-time maintenance workers. The first Negro professional worker was employed in 1958, not specifically for the purpose of integration, but because she was the best qualified applicant among several for the position of casework supervisor in the institution. She now occupies the position of Director of Social Services and is also responsible for administration of the agency in the absence of the executive director. Several Negro workers have been employed as caseworkers, recreation workers, child care workers, and maintenance workers. As with the first full-time Negro worker, all have been employed, not for the sake of integration, but because they were the best qualified of the applicants seeking their particular jobs.

The importance of having Negro employees in an agency seeking to give a service to all racial groups cannot be overlooked as the presence and participation of the Negro worker has a direct influence on the feelings, decisions, and actions of staff, administration, board, and clients. When people live, work, and play together day after day, they develop mutual understanding, acceptance, concern, respect, and love for each other that break down their feelings of fear and intolerance—perhaps not completely, but to a degree that does not ordinarily allow these feelings to interfere with the resolution of mutual concerns. However, there have been a few workers—both white and Negro—who have not been able to resolve their feelings about each other or about their own position in life and it has been necessary for them to seek employment elsewhere.

The agency has found that the employment of

Negro workers is important to the Negro client who seeks the help of the child welfare institution. The Negro client may have a white or Negro worker, but when he has a white worker it has seemed that, in general, the client feels more at ease and trustful of the agency when he sees that there are Negro workers also on the staff. Some white parents have, at first, objected to having Negro workers, but these feelings have changed into acceptance after they have become better acquainted and feel the genuine concern of the worker for their family problems.

An integrated staff has also been very important for children in care, not only because it gives them a positive experience in living with children and adults of different races, but because a child often needs the direct support of someone with whom he can more easily identify. The Negro child in Children's Village has been in a minority group within the institution and within the community and he has often needed the presence, if not the direct help, interpretation, and intervention, of a Negro worker to allay his fears and hostilities toward the agency and community. One Negro boy, however, became so identified with the white children and adults who had accepted him so completely, in spite of a long period of mistrust of and rebellion toward the staff, that it was necessary for his worker to help him to accept the fact that he was a Negro and that society, in general, was not yet ready for him to have complete freedom of movement in the community. A Negro worker was best prepared to help this boy with his feelings and he finally left the agency with a healthier feeling toward himself, his peers, and adults.

Involvement of the administrator

As stated earlier in this paper, the executive director became concerned early in his administration over obligation of the agency to extend its services to persons of all races. His concern was not only with the people who needed the services of the agency, but also with his staff, board of directors, and the community. Once committed to racial integration within the agency, he had to cope continuously with his own feelings as he faced new problems related not only to the process of integration but to the new elements in his day-to-day relationships with clients, staff, and community.

For example, when a Negro child was referred to the Society who was not a suitable candidate for the group care service, the referring agency would often accuse the Society of retaining its former discriminatory practice. When, in the agency's adoption program, more Negro babies came into care than could be placed within a year and the administrator established a quota on the number of Negro unmarried mothers and babies to be in care at any one time, he wondered if he was being objective and if staff members would feel that he was discriminatory. Suggestions by a few board members that he should place a limit on the number of Negro employees and children in the institution, and the loss of former family friends in the community were among other problems faced by the executive. It was necessary, therefore, that the executive continually examine his own feelings, beliefs, and actions and, at times, seek the help of a staff member or a Negro person outside of the agency to get his questions and doubts clarified. There were also times when he found it difficult to be objective in the face of direct and indirect attempts by others to alter his goal of being absolutely democratic in his relationships with clients and staff. It was necessary, therefore, for the administrator to always keep in mind his responsibility to direct the efforts of both the staff and the board of directors in achieving the goals of the agency.

Conclusions

The degree of success of any process or service can only be measured by testing or evaluating its ultimate effect on the welfare of the individuals it was designed to help. In carrying out its decision to serve persons of all racial groups:

> "The Methodist Children's Home Society, theoretically, was guided by two principles which operate simultaneously: (1) According to its intake policy, the agency is obligated to take in any child needing group care, regardless of race, as long as there is a suitable vacancy in the Village, and (2) according to child welfare philosophy, the services offered the child must be *in the best interests of the child.* If the Methodist Children's Village accepts a Negro child into the Village, it fulfills the first principle in so doing. But then such a child would have to go to a public school, where he might experience cruel prejudice and consequent mental anguish—not to mention possible physical injury. *Would this, then, be in the best interests of the child?* Here is a real dilemma. Should the agency sacrifice the first principle in order to preserve the second principle? In a crisis, which principle is more important." (2)

The agency does feel, however, that all of the other Negro children placed in Children's Village have been helped considerably in their personal and social adjustment. They ranged in age from 8 to 15 years and came into care with relatively severe personality problems. Some were able to go directly into public school while others were placed first in the agency's resident school. These children have been well accepted in the public schools and community and have responded well to the group living program and services of Children's Village. There have never been more than five Negro children in group care at one time in spite of efforts of the Society to inform and remind all potential referring agencies that its services are available to all racial groups. It is suspected that public agencies may be less prone to spend as much money for children of minority groups through placement in child care institutions and that Negro parents may have some reluctance to use an institution that is in an all white community.

If success in the racial integration of services can be measured in terms of the amount of help given to individual Negro parents and their children, the efforts of the Methodist Children's Home Society can be considered successful. However, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to measure the effect of the agency's policies on the social consciousness of the community. The agency met its obligation to serve "all" children even though it faced the problem of introducing a new social concern into the community. In so doing, the agency carried out an obligation which Pierce Atwater has described as the responsibility of the social worker in meeting the challenge of social innovations:

> "A social worker can go a long way in helping to form some basis of community opinion. He cannot, however, move more rapidly than the city is willing to go * * *. The policy conditioned by community consciousness is not merely a negative thing. It does not constitute a barrier which no social worker dare transgress. On the other hand, the worker must know what these community traditions are, and how they work, in any place in which he proposes to practice his profession. They are not impossible barriers. Indeed, they may offer a constructive challenge. It is the obligation of the worker to elevate the community concept. This he can do by wisdom, patience, and education." (3)

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(2) Barnhart and Nordstrom, op. cit.

(3) Atwater, Pierce: PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTRATION IN SOCIAL WORK. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1940. 319 pp. (p. 146–148.)

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